## Saducismus Triumphatus:

OR,

Full and Plain EVIDENCE

Concerning

# WITCHES

APPARITIONS.

In Two PARTS.

The First treating of their

### POSSIBILITY;

The Second of their

Real Existence.

By Joseph Glanvil, late Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

#### The Third Edition.

The Advantages whereof above the former, the Reader may understand out of Dr H. More's Account prefixed thereunto.

With two Authentick, but wonderful Stories of certain Swedish Witches; done into English by A. HORNECK, D.D.

LONDON,

Printed for S. Lownds at his Shop by the Savoy-Gate, M DC LXXXIX.

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# READER.

READER,

HAT thou hast no sooner enjoyed this long expected Edition, thou canst not justly blame either the Author or my self. Not my self, for I could not publish the Book before I had it; nor the Author, because many unexpected occasions drove off his Mind to other matters, and interrupted him in his present design, insomuch that he was snatcht away by Death before he had quite sinished it. But though the learned World may very well lament the loss of so able and ingenious a Writer, yet as to this present point, if that may mitigate thy sorrow, in all likelihood this Book had not seen the light so soon if he had lived, so many emergent occasions giving him new interruption, and offering him new temptations to surther delay.

Indeed it had been desirable that it might have had be polishing of his last hand, as the peruser of his Paters signifies in his last Advertisement. But to commensate this loss, the said Peruser, a Friend as well

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### The PUBLISHER

to his Design as to his Person, has digested those Materials he left, into that order and distinctness, and has so tied things together, and supplied them in his Advertisements, that, to the judicious Reader, nothing can seem wanting that may serve the ends of his intended Treatise. Not to intimate what considerable things are added, more than it is likely had been, if he had finished it himself: For, besides the Advertisements of the careful Peruser of his Papers, and those two notable late Stories of the Swedish Witches, translated out of German into the English Tongue, there is also added a short Treatise of the true and genuine Notion of a Spirit, taken out of Dr. More's Enchiridion Metaphysicum, to entertain those that are more curious searchers into the nature of these things.

The Number also of the Stories are much increased above what was designed by Mr. Glanvil, though none admitted, but such as seemed very well attested and highly credible to his above faid Friend, and fuch, as rightly understood, contain nothing but what is consonant to right Reason and sound Philosophy, as I have heard him earnestly avouch, though it had been too tedious to have explained all; and it may be more grateful to the Reader to be left to exercise his own wit and ingenie upon the rest. These are the advantages this Edition of Mr. Glanvil's Dæmon of Tedworth, and his Considerations about Witchcraft have, above any Edition before, though the last of them was so bought up, that there was not a Copy of them to be had in all London and Cambridge, but the Peruser of his Papers was fain to break his own to ferve the Press with; If these intimations may move

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### to the READER.

thy Appetite to the reading so pleasant and useful a

Treatife.

And yet I can add one thing more touching the story of the Dæmon of Tedworth, which is very considerable. It is not for me indeed to take notice of that meanness of spirit in the Exploders of Apparitions and Witches, which very strangely betrayed it self in the decrying of that well-attested Narrative touching the Stirs in Mr Mompesson's House. Where, although they that came to be spectators of the marvellous things there done by some invisible Agents, had all the liberty imaginable (even to the ripping of the Bolsters open) to search and try if they could discover any natural cause or cunning Artifice whereby such strange feats were done; and numbers that had free access from day to day, were abundantly satisfied of the reality of the thing, that the House was haunted and disturbed by Dæmons or Spirits; yet some few years after the Stirs had ceased, the truth of this story lying so uneasie in the minds of the disgusters of such things, they raised a Report, (when none of them, no not the most diligent and curious could detect any trick or fraud themselves in the matter) that both Mr. Glanvil himself, who published the Narrative, and Mr. Mompesson, in whose House these wonderful things happened, had confessed the whole matter to be a Cheat and Imposture. And they were so diligent in spreading abroad this gross untruth, that it went current in all the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. An egregious discovery of what kind of Spirit this fort of Men are! which, as I said, though it be not for me to take notice of, yet I will not stick to signifie (it being both for mine own Interest, and the Interest

### The PUBLISHER, &c.

Interest of Truth) that those reports raised touching Mr. Glanvil and Mr. Mompesson, are by the present Edition of this Book demonstrated to be false to all the World. That concerning Mr. Glanvil, by his Presace to the second Part of the Book, That touching Mr. Mompesson, by two Letters of his own, the one to Mr. Glanvil, the other to Mr. James Collins, which are subjoined to the said Presace: Which thing alone may justly be deemed to add a very great weight to the value, as of that Story, so of this present Edition.

But I will not, Reader, upon pretence of exciting thy Appetite, keep thee from the satisfying it by an overlong Preface. I shall therefore add nothing more,

but that I am

Your humble Servant,

S. L.

AN

## ACCOUNT

OF THE

### SECOND EDITION

OF

## Saducismus Triumphatus.

H E former Edition of Saducismus Triumphatus, an Account thereof is given by the Publisher to the Reader, where you may understand what great advantages that Edition of Mr. Glanvil's Considerations about Witchcrast, and his Story of the Damon of Tedworth, has above any former Editions of them. And now, Reader, as for this present Edition, I think it not amiss to acquaint thee, as briefly as I may, what advantages that Edition, what advantages that Edition is the same of the control of the control

tages this has above the former.

First therefore, there is added to the First Part thereof, An Answer to a Letter of a Learned Psychopyrist, that
is, of a Philosopher that holds all Created Spirits to be a
kind of more pure and subtile Fire in some sence or other. Wherein this Controversie is punctually debated,
and the true Nature of a Spirit more sully and convincingly cleared, against all the pretences of the Psychopyrists of what Classes soever, (provided they be still Psycho-hylists, and make Spirits only a more pure and subtile Matter) as before of the Holenmerians and Nulli-

bifts. 'Tistrue, I have not Published the Psychopyrist's Letter entirely together, to be read at once, but I have by piece-meal faithfully interferted it, as I make Answer to it: And fo far I prefumed without consulting the mind of the Writer thereof. For I finding the Letter a close and well compacted account of that way of Philosophizing touching Spirits, and to have given as good a Gloss of the Doctrine, as the thing is capable of, I was resolved to take this opportunity to clear the business. And therefore considering that possibly, the Writers shyness and modesty might not assent to the Publishing of that, which his better Judgment and Sence of the common good, might approve of, when once Publified: I have for the good of the Publick communicated it to the World, without acquainting him with my defign. And I hope the greatest Hypercritick in Morality, will not be able to find any flaw in the omission of such a Ceremony to an Anonymous Person, (noted only by the Title of Psychopyrist, in the most refined sence that debars him not from being a Psycho-bylist) for an end so good, and of fo great importance.

For affiredly it is of main importance, that we have a true genuine and confiftent Notion of the Nature of a Spirit, and fuch as will not beget a misbelief of their Existence in such as consider it. As I must confess, I think that the Notion of the Nullibists and that of the Holenmerians, with any one that thinks freely with himfelf, naturally does. Whose Opinions therefore, in my Discourse of the true Notion of a Spirit, I made it my bufiness fully and clearly to consute. So that my Notion of a Spirit had no Competitor left, faving this of the Psychopyrists or the Psycho-hylists. Which besides that it is Erroncous, I find also to be useless or rather burtful, it declaring the Nature of a Created Spirit to be such as is inconfiftent with the Perceptive Functions, and a lasting Personality, as I have intimated in my Answer to the Psychopyrists. Nothing in a Philosophical way can support the Psychopyrifts belief of Spirits, but only the meer History

History of them, his Notion of them, if more closely fifted, undermining that belief. But that true Notion of a Spirit in general, which I have exhibited to the World, does not only in a Philosophical way affifted with History, further our assurance of the Existence of Spirits, and the Immortality of our own Souls, but makes the grand Mysteries of our Religion, such as the Triunity of the Godhead, and Divinity of Christ sit more easie in our minds. Infomuch that a Foreign Socinian, whose name is famous in that Sect, ingenuously confessed to me a long time ago, that if he could but attain to the conception of an Immaterial Substance, he could easily be of my mind in all points; that is, he could very eafily quit his Socinianism. Whence it is manifest, of what vast consequence it is to offer such a Notion of Immaterial Substance, or Spirit, as is easily conceivable, nor is hoysted up into the contradictious Sublimities of Nullibism and Holenmerianism, nor let flag, as that of the Psychopyrists or Psychohylists does, so low, as to fink into real Materialism, which is utterly inconsistent with the Mystery of the Trinity, and indeed with the Existence of a God. And therefore this Addition made to the First Part of Saducismus Triumphatus, ought to make the fecond Impression thereof considerably more valuable.

The Style of this Answer, I must confess, may haply make it to some Readers the less grateful, but the Letter it self being in such a Scholastick Style, it was natural for me to follow it in my Answer. Nor ought either to offend any one, if they will but remember that there are Terms of Art belonging to all Professions, and what abundance of such there are in Law, in Physick, and Chymistry, and many other Arts and Faculties, that cannot but seem Gibberish to those that are not acquainted with those Studies. And therefore they are not to think it strange, if in a Scholastick Controverse they meet with some Phrases that are only usual in the Schools.

Secondly, I have made a brief Continuation of the former Collection,

Collection, confifting of fix remarkable true Stories, all of them fresh enough, but some of them of things happening within these two or three years. So that they that are diffident and curious may fatisfie themselves upon the spot, of the truth of Matter of Fact, by sufficient Witnesses.

Thirdly, I have added Mr. Glanvil's Letter written to my felf, wherein he answers to nine or ten, partly Objections, partly Queries, fent to him from me, touching the Stirs of the Damon of Tedworth at Mr. Mompelfon's House, and makes several smart and judicious Reflections on Drollery and Atheism. Upon which Letter I have made some pretty large Advertisements, and touching such things, as I thought it of no small concern, for Men seriously to consider.

Fourthly, Besides that the Learned Doctor Anthony Horneck has made his Preface to the Narrative of the Swedish Witchcraft more correct and full, he has added a new Narrative from Swedeland of a marvellous strange effect of Witchcraft, to that he Published before.

And lastly, There is yet one advantage more of the Second Edition of Saducismus Triumphatus above the First, in that my Letter to Mr. Glanvil prefixt before the Book, is freed from a Mistake that went glib with it before. Indeed the Letter was Re-printed before the Mistake was discovered, so that it could not be expunged, but yet this caution given touching it, is equivalent to an expunction. The Mistake is this, A certain Party (who shall be nameless for me, it being so little for his credit) that transmitted Mr. Smart's Testimony to Mr. Shepherdson touching the Tryal of Sharp and Walker at Durham Assizes, drew up (whether out of overmuch officiousness to Mr. Shepherdson, or that he would convey a dead Fly into the Box of Ointment, I will not be fo curious asto enquire) drew up, I fay, a Form that is not true. Mr. Shepherdson desiring that Party to take the Testimony only of such as were grown Men then, when the Affizes was, took it for granted that Smart was then then such, whenas he was but a Boy then, and besides, which is yet worse, that Assirmation of Mr. Fairhair his giving it in Evidence upon Oath that he saw a likeness of a Child stand upon Walker's Shoulders during the time of the Trial dwindles away into no more than this, That he heard such a thing was true. Which is but a faint business.

What the meaning of that nameless Party was in giving fuch false Information, I cannot peremptorily conclude, but if it was to convey a dead Fly into the Box of Ointment, as I faid above, my declaring the thing thus to all the World, will more than defeat his defign. For this folitary Mistake in the matter of the whole being thus freely and ingenuously acknowledged, it will instead of a dead Fly in the Box of Ointment, prove only Navus in Venere, a meer Beauty-spot in a Face of a good Feature and found and fair Complexion. For there has been all Moral diligence used, that nothing should be admitted that was any ways suspected, or exceptionable, as you may understand by the Advertisements. which have discovered whatever slaw might seem to occur in any of the Narrations, and offered satisfaction touching the same, leaving the matter to the free Judgment of the Reader. And so soon as my worthy Friend Doctor J. Davis, by being lately in the North, and speaking with the Parties, had discovered to me this Mistake, I was impatient till I rectified it in the fecond Edition.

But as he found out the vacillancy of this Testimony, so by being there, he was able the more fully to assure me of the sirmness of Mr. Lumley's Testimony, which Mr. Shepherdson took from his own Mouth, and had his hand subscribed accordingly as is set down, which sufficiently supports the main of this Narration concerning the appearing of Anne Walker's Ghost, after her death to the Miller. And is a Story of such indubitable Truth, that there is nothing, as he observed, of Matter of Fact in the North within the memory of Man, more univer-

fally acknowledged than it. So that the expunction of James Smart's Testimony is no detriment to the Cause, nor the use so considerable. Which was only in its being an instance of some seeing a Spirit, when other By-standers see it not: which so often occurs in History, that we can well let this go for nothing, there being from other instances an abundant supply. And therefore I declare that this Instance of Mr. Fairhair, whereever it occurs in my Writings, that I would have it stand for a misplaced Cypher, that adds nothing to the number,

nor is of any value at all.

Since my Writing this, and my coming hither to London, I have unexpectedly discovered another mistake, which not being in the body of any Story, but in the mere Title, scarce amounts to so much as a Navus. It is in Relat. XXIV. where I put in the Title Mr. Andrew Paschal's name, and make the Scene of the Transactions his Mothers House in London in Soper-Lane, as if he had been the eye-witness of the things there set down, when as he only had the Narrative, but withal, all desirable fatisfaction of the truth of it, from another, who was the real Eye-witness thereof, viz. Mr. J. Newberrie, one of his own Colledge, whose Father and Mother lived at or near Maydenhead, not far from Windsor. But I finding this Story in my Study, which was written with Mr. Paschal's own hand, and it being told so as from an Eyewitness present at the Stirs, but his name omitted in the Story, and it ever going under Mr. Paschal's name with us as often as we have had occasion to speak of it, I took it for granted he was the Eye-witness thereof, and finding the place not named, I enquired here of his Brother, a very civil and obliging person, where their Family lived about twenty years ago; and understanding it was in Soper-Lane in London, I thought then my Story was complete in due circumstance of place as well as of time, I taking for granted that Mr. Paschal was the Eyewitness of those Transactions. Which are so punctually fet down in the Narrative that not one syllable is to be altered altered therein for this mistake. But onely in the Title, Mr John Newberie is to be put for Mr Andrew Paschal, and Maydenhead, or some place thereabout for Soper-Lane in London. So that that Narrative being a Record made by a careful and diligent Eye-witness (as Mr Paschal knew Mr Newberie to be, and the frame of the Narrative discovers as much) it is yet as firm, and convictive to any ordinary Reader, as if Mr Paschal had been the Eye-witness, and the Title had needed no alteration.

That Flaw in Smart's Testimony, and this Mistake in the Party and Place in the XXIV. Relat. thus readily have I acknowledged according to that faithfulness I hold my felf obliged to in matters of this nature. But there is also an Exception which I heard of, (and it is the only exception against any of the substance of the Relations. which I have met with fince they were Published) touching the Story of the appearing of Edward Avon to Thomas Goddard, Relat. IX. as if it had been fince discovered that some Waggish Fellow that was like Edward Avon in Feature, had imposed upon Goddard, and made him believe he was his Father-in-Law's Ghost. Which is fo fond a device, that faving that I would conceal nothing, I should be assumed to mention it. For (1.) it is easie to consider how improbable it is, that one Man should be so exquisitely like another in Features, Age, and Statures, as not to be discerned by one that had the perfect form of his deceased Friend in his mind, to differ from him, or not to be him. Here therefore, I demand of the Raifer of this Report, where, and before whom of those that perfectly knew Old Avon, have they produced this Man, that is pretended to be so like him, or did they ever shew him to Tho. Goddard himself? (2.) Let this Man produced tell from whom he got the fame Cloths, Hat, Stockings and Shoes that Avon wore when he was alive, or what Taylor and other Artists made him fuch? (3.) How many else did this Mock-Avon, thus apparel'd, (he being but a Man in Old Avon's

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'Avon's Cloths) appear to, as well as to Tho. Goddard? Let him produce others that fee him fo clad besides Tho. Goddard. For he being so apparel'd, how could he miss of meeting others, and of seeming to be Avon's Ghost to them also, he so often being abroad in that Habit? (4) How came that Mock-Avon to imitate the Voice of Old Avon thus of a sudden, as well as to bear his Shape? (5.) Would this Mock-Avon have been at the expence of Twenty or Thirty Shillings, or any else for him, only to break a jest? (6.) And how should this Mock-Avon know of the Twenty shillings the true Avon owed to Edward Lawrence, whenas this Lawrence faid, that none knew of that Debt but himself, and his Wife, and Avon and his Wife. (7.) And laftly, How could the faid Mock Avon be feen of Goddard, and not of William Avon, or his voice be heard by William Avon, and yet his person not seen, if what Goddard saw was meerly a waggish Fellow, and not a Ghost?

These things offer themselves at the first sight to him that reads the Story, and compares this pitisul Evasion therewith. But here again I have shewed my faithfulness in thus giving occasion to any one to enquire surther of this Mock. Avon, who the person is, and how well sitted by parility of seature and stature, to act such a part; and how he came by Avon's Cloths, &c. Which Fellow, if he can never be produced, yet in the mean time the section of such, plainly implies, that the Inventor was convinced that Tho. Goddard had a real Object before him, which he took to be his Father in-Law's Ghost, and that he neither saw nor discoursed with a Phantome

of his own making.

That I am thus very industrious and zealous to support the belief of Spirits and Apparitions, and of whatever is true that contributes thereto, may seem strange to some, and therefore to want an Apology; yet considering the Sadneism of this present Age, and Atheism too if you will, it were a great neglect in me, or any one else of my Profession, not to have a great zeal and indignation

indignation against the stupour and besottedness of the men of these times, that are so sunk into the dull sense of their Bodies, that they have lost all belief or conceit that there are any fuch things as Spirits in the World. And, whereas the Son of God stript himself, as it were, of those Joys and Glories above, and condescended to vifit this dark caliginous Globe of Sickliness and Mortality, and to bear all the Inconveniencies and Infirmities of our frail Flesh; to live an obscure and contemptible Life; to be a Man of Sorrows, and acquainted with Griefs; to fweat drops of Bloud out of Agony of Mind; to be Crowned with Thorns; to be mocked and fpit upon; to be cruelly Scourged; and finally, to be Crucified, most ignominiously, betwixt two Thieves: For the Son of God, I fay, to endure all this, out of his dear love to the straying Souls of Men, to reduce them back from this Valley of Death and Darkness to the Joys and Glories of his own Kingdom above, in the clearest Heavens, and Men in the mean time, and that under the voice of the Gospel, and these Wits forsooth too (the Witches find Souls to give to the Devil to be damned, and the Wits wisely conceal theirs from CHRIST, lest they should be Redeemed.) For these Wits, I say, to have grown To brutish and dull as not to conceive or believe there are any fuch things as Spirits; or Souls in themselves to be faved,

Quis est tam ferreus ut teneat se?

What real Christian would not be moved to the height of indignation, at so foul and frantick a Scene of things, and industriously lend his hand to the amending it as far as he can. This I should hope may be a just Apology for my thus zealously assisting, and faithfully ministring to the serious Design of our dear Lord and Saviour, for the recalling of the wandring Souls of Men into the way of Truth and Everlasting Salvation. And at their peril be it, who will not excuse that zeal and activeness, which He that set me a work, I am well assured, will not fail to Reward.

Dr H.

### Dr H.M. his LETTER,

WITH THE

## POSTSCRIPT,

To Mr 7. G.

Minding him of the great Expedience and Usefulnels of his new intended Edition of the Damon of Tedworth, and briefly representing to him the marvellous weakness and gullery of M' Webster's Display of Witchcraft.

SIR.

Book-seller, to know in what forwardness this new intended Impression of the Story of the Dæmon of Tedworth was, which will undeceive the World touching that Fame generally spread abroad, as if Mr. Mompession and your self had acknowledged the business to have been a meer Trick or Imposture. But the Story, with your ingenious Considerations about Witchcrast, being so often printed already, he said, it behoved him to take care how he ventured on a new Impression, unless he had some new matter of that kind to add, which might make this new Edition the more certainly saleable; and therefore he expected the issue of that noised Story of the Spectre at Exeter, seen so oft for the discovering of a Murder committed some thirty years ago. But the event of this Business, as to juridical process,

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not answering expectation, he was discouraged from making ese of it, many things being reported to him from thence in favour to the party most concerned. But I told him a Story of one Mrs. Britton, her appearing to her Maid after her death, very well attested, though not of such a Tragical kind as that of Exeter, which he thought considerable.

But of Discoveries of Murder I never met with any Story more plain and unexceptionable than that in Mr. John Webfter his Display of supposed Witchcraft. The Book indeed it self, I confess, is but a weak and impertinent piece ; but that Story weighty and convincing, and such as himself (though otherwise an affected Caviller against almost all Stories of Witchcraft and Apparitions) is constrained to asfent to, as you shall see from his own confession. I shall for your better ease, or because you haply may not have the Book, transcribe it out of the Writer himself, though it be some-

thing long, Chap. 16. Page 298.

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About the year of our Lord, 1632. (as near as I can remember, having lost my Notes and the Copy of the Letter to Serjeant Hutton, but am sure that I do most perfectly remember the substance of the story) near unto Chester in the Street, there lived one Walker a Yeoman-man of good Estate, and a Widower, who had a young Woman to his Kinswoman that kept his House, who was by the Neighbours sufpetted to be with Child, and was towards the dark of the Evening one night fent away with one Mark Sharp, who was a Collier, or one that digged Coals under ground, and one that had been born in Blakeburn-Hundred in Lancashire; and so she was not heard of a long time, and no noise or little was made about it. In the Winter-time after, one James Graham or Grime (for so in that Country they call them) being a Miller, and living about two miles from the place where Walker lived, was one night alone very late in the Mill grinding Corn; and as about twelve or one a clock at night, he came down the Stairs from having been putting Corn in the Hopper, the Mill-doors being shut, there stood a Woman upon the midst of the Floor, with her Hair about her Head hanging down and all bloody, with five large Wounds

on her Head. He being much affrighted and amazed, began to bless him, and at last asked her who she was, and what she wanted? To which she said, I am the Spirit of such a Woman, who lived with Walker; and being got with Child by him, he promised to send me to a private place, where I should be well lookt to until I was brought in Bed and well again, and then I should come again and

keep his House.

And accordingly, said the Apparition, I was one night late sent away with one Mark Sharp, who, upon a Moor (naming a place that the Miller knew) slew me with a Pick (such as men dig Coals withal) and gave me these five Wounds, and after threw my Body into a Coal-Pit hard by, and hid the Pick under a Bank: and his Shoes and Stockings being bloudy, he endeavoured to wash; but seeing the bloud would not wash forth, he hid them there. And the Apparition further told the Miller, that he must be the man to reveal it, or else that she must still appear and haunt him. The Miller returned home very sad and heavy, but spoke not one word of what he had seen, but eschewed as much as he could to stay in the Mill within night without company, thinking thereby to escape the seeing again of that frightful Apparition.

But notwithstanding, one night when it began to be dark, the Apparition met him again, and seemed very sierce and cruel, and threatned him, That if he did not reveal the Murder, she would continually pursue and haunt him. Yet for all this, he still concealed it until St. Thomas's Eve before Christmas, when being soon after Sun-set walking in his Garden, she appeared again, and then so threatned him and affrighted him, that he faithfully promised to reveal it next

morning.

In the morning he went to a Magistrate, and made the whole matter known, with all the circumstances; and diligent search being made, the Body was found in a Coal-Pit, with five Wounds in the Head, and the Pick, and Shoes; and Stockings set bloudy, in every circumstance as the Apparition had related unto the Miller. Whereupon Walker and Mark

Sharp

Sharp were both apprehended, but would confess nothing. At the Assizes following (I think it was at Durham) they were arraigned, found guilty, condemned, and executed, but I could never hear that they confessed the Fact. There were some that reported, that the Apparition did appear to the Judge, or the Foreman of the Jury, (who was alive in Chester in the Street about ten years ago, as I have been cre-

dibly informed) but of that I know no certainty.

There are many persons yet alive that can remember this strange Murder, and the Discovery of it; for it was, and sometimes yet is, as much discoursed of in the North-Country, as any thing that almost hath ever been heard of, and the Relation Printed, though now not to be gotten. I relate this with the greater confidence, (though I may fail in some of the Circumstances) because I saw and read the Letter that was sent to Serjeant Hutton, who then lived at Goldsbrugh in Yorkshire, from the Judge before whom Walker and Mark Sharp were tried, and by whom they were condemned; and had a Copy of it until about the year 1658, when I had it and many other Books and Papers taken from me. And this I confess to be one of the most convincing Stories (being of undoubted verity) that ever I read, heard, or knew of, and carrieth with it the most evident force to make the most incredulous spirit to be satisfied that there are really sometimes such things as Apparitions. Thus far He.

This Story is so considerable, that I make mention of it in my Scholia on my Immortality of the Soul, in my Volumen Philosophicum, Tom. 2. which I acquainted a Friend of mine with, a prudent intelligent Person, Dr. J. D. he of his own accord offered me, it being a thing of such consequence, to send to a Friend of his in the North for greater assurance of the truth of the Narration; which motion I willingly embracing, he did accordingly. The Answer to his Letter from his Friend Mr. Shepherdson, is this:

I have done what I can to inform my felf of the paffage of Sharp and Walker. There are very few men that I could meet, that were then Men, or at the Tryal, sa-

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ion ark arp ving these two in the inclosed Paper, both Men at that time, and both at the Tryal. And for Mr Lumley, he lived next door to Walker; and what he hath given under his hand, can depose if there were occasion. The other Gentleman writ his Attestation with his own hand; but I being not there, got not his Name to it. I could have sent you twenty hands that could have said thus much and more by hear-say, but I thought these most proper that could speak from their own Eyes and Ears. Thus far Mr. Shepherdson, the Dostor's discreet and faithful Intelligen-

cer. Now for Mr. Lumly's Testimony, it is this.

Mr. William Lumley of Lumley, being an ancient Gentleman, and at the Tryal of Walker and Sharp, upon the Murder of Anne Walker, saith, That he doth very well remember, that the said Anne was Servant to Walker, and that she was supposed to be with Child, but would not disclose by whom. But being removed to her Aunts in the same Town, called Dame Carie, told her Aunt that he that had got her with Child, would take care both for her and it, and bidher not trouble her self. After some time she had been at her Aunts, it was observed that Sharp came to Lumley one night, being a sworn Brother of the said Walker's; and they two that night called her forth from her Aunts House, which

night the was murdered.

About fourteen days after the Murder, there appeared to on Graime a Fuller, at his Mill, six miles from Lumley, the likeness of a Woman, with her Hair about her Head, and the appearance of sive Wounds in her Head, as the said Graime gave it in Evidence. That that appearance bid him go to a justice of Peace, and relate to him how that Walker and Sharp had murdered her, in such a place as she was murdered: But he fearing to disclose a thing of that nature against a person of credit as Walker was, would not have done it; but she continually appearing night by night to him, and pulling the Cloathes off his Bed told him, He should never rest till he had disclosed it. Upon which the said Graime did go to a Justice of Peace, and related the whole matter. Whereupon the Justice of Peace granted Warrants against Walker

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and Sharp, and committed them to Prison. But they found Bail to appear at the next Assizes. At which time they came to their Tryal, and upon evidence of the Circumstances with that of Graime of the Appearance, they were both found guilty, and executed.

Will. Lumley.

The other Testimony is of Mr. James Smart of the City of Durham; who saith, That the Tryal of Sharp and Walker was in the Month of August 1631. before Judge Davenport. One Mr. Fairhair gave it in Evidence upon Oath, that he see the likeness of a Child stand upon Walker's Shoulders during the time of the Tryal: At which time the Judge was very much troubled, and gave Sentence that night the Tryal was; which was a thing never used in Durham

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Out of which two Testimonies several things may be corrected or supplied in Mr. Webster's story, though it be evident enough that in the main they agree: For that is but a small disagreement as to the year, when Mr. Webster says about the year of our Lord, 1632. and Mr. Smart, 1631. But unless at Durham they have Assizes but once in the year, I understand not so well how Sharp and Walker should be apprehended some little while after St. Thomas's Day, as Mr. Webster has it, and be tried the next Assizes at Durham, and yet that be in August, according to Smart's Testimony. Out of Mr. Lumley's Testimony the Christian Name of the young Woman is supplied, as also the Name of the Town near Chester in the Street, namely Lumley. The Circumstances also of Walker's sending away his Kinswoman with Mark Sharp, are supplied out of Mr. Lumley's Narrative; and the time restified, by telling it was about fourteen days till the Spectre appeared after the Murder, whenas Mr. Webster makes it a long time.

Two Errors also more are corrected in Mr. Webster's Narration, by Mr. Lumley's Testimony: The distance of the Miller from Lumley where Walker dwelt, which was Six miles, not Two miles, as Mr. Webster has it. And also,

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that it was not a Mill to grind Corn in, but a Fuller's Mill. The Apparition night by night pulling the Cloaths off Graime's Bed, omitted in Mr. Webster's Story, may be Supplied out of Mr. Lumley's. And Mr. Smart's Testimony puts it out of controversie, that the Tryal was at Durham, and before Judge Davenport, which is omitted by Mr Webster. And whereas Mr. Webster says, there were some that reported, that the Apparition did appear to the Judge, or the Fore-man of the Jury, but of that he knows no certainty; This confession of his, as it is a sign he would not write any thing in this Story of which be was not certain for the main, so here is a very seasonable supply for this out of Mr. Smart, who affirms, that he heard one Mr. Fairhair give Evidence upon Oath, that he saw the likeness of a Child stand upon Walker's Shoulders during the time of the Tryal. It is likely this Mr. Fairhair might be the Fore-man of the Jury; and in that the Judge was so very much troubled, that bimself also might see the same Apparition as Mr. Webster says report went, though the mistake in Mr. Webster is, that it was the Apparition of the Woman. But this of the Child was very fit and apposite, placed on his Shoulders, as one that was justly loaded or charged with that Crime of getting his Kinswoman with Child, as well as of completting with Sharp to murder her.

The Letter also which he mentions writ from the Judge before whom the Trial was heard, to Serjeant Hutton, it is plain out of Mr. Smart's Testimony, that it was from Judge Davenport; which in all likelihood was a very full and punctual Narrative of the whole business, and enabled Mr. Webster, in some considerable things, to be more particular than Mr. Lumley. But the agreement is so exact for the main, that there is no doubt to be made of the truth of the Apparition. But that this, for sooth, must not be the Soul of Anne Walker, but her Astral Spirit, this is but a fantastick conceit of Webster and his Paracelsians, which I have sufficiently shewn the folly of in the Scholia on my Immortality of the Soul, Volum. Philos. Tom. II. p. 384.

This Story of Anne Walker I think you will do well to put amongst

amongst your Additions in the new Impression of your Dx-mon of Tedworth, it being so excellently well attested, and so unexceptionably in every respect; and to hasten as fast as you can that Impression, to undeceive the half-witted World, who so much exult and triumph in the extinguishing the beslief of that Narration, as if the crying down the truth of that story of the Dæmon of Tedworth, were indeed the very slaying of the Devil, and that they may now with more gaiety and security than ever sing in a loud note that mad drunken Catch,

#### Hay ho! the Devil is dead, &c.

Which wild Song, though it may seem a piece of levity to mention, yet believe me, the application thereof bears a sober and weighty intimation along with it, viz. that thefe fort of People are very horribly afraid there should be any Spirit, lest there should be a Devil, and an account after this life; and therefore they are impatient of any thing that implies it, that they may with a more full swing, and with all security from an after-reckoning, indulge their own Lusts and Humours in this. And I know by long experience, that nothing rouzes them so out of that dull Lethargy of Atheism and Saducism, as Narrations of this kind. For they being of a thick and gross spirit, the most subtile and solid deductions of reason does little execution upon them; but this sort of sensible Experiments cuts them and stings them very sore, and so startles them, that by a less considerable story by far than this of the Drummer of Tedworth, or of Anne Walker, a Doctor of Physick cry'd out presently, If this be true, I have been in a wrong Box all this time, and must begin my account anew.

And I remember an old Gentleman in the Country of my acquaintance, an excellent Justice of Peace and a piece of a Mathematician; but what kind of Philosopher he was, you may understand from a Rhyme of his own making, which he commended to me at my taking Horse in his Yard; which Rhyme is this,

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Ens is nothing till Sense find it out: Sense ends in nothing, so nought goes about.

Which Rhyme of his was so rapturous to himself, that at the reciting of the second Verse, the old Gentleman turned himself about upon his Toe as nimbly as one may observe a dry Leaf whisked round in the corner of an Orchard-walk by Some little Whirlwind. With this Philosopher I have had many Discourses concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and its distinction from the Body, and of the existence of Spirits. When I have ran him quite down by Reason, he would but laugh at me, and say, This is Logick, H. calling me by my Christen Name. To which I replied, This is Reason, Father L. (for so I used, and some others, to call him) but it seems you are for the New Lights, and immediate Inspiration. Which, I confess, he was as little for as for the other; but I said so only in way of drollery to him in those times. But truth is, nothing but palpable experience would move him: And being a bold man, and fearing nothing, he told me be had used all the Magical Ceremonies of Conjuration be could to raife the Devil or a Spirit, and bad a most earnest desire to meet with one, but never could do it. But this he told me, when he did not so much as think fit, while his Servant was pulling off his Boots in the Hall, some invisible Hand gave him such a clap upon the Back, that it made all ring again. So thought he, now I am invited to the converse of some Spirit; and therefore so soon in his Boots were off and his Shoes on, out goes he into the Yard andnext Field, to find out the Spirit that had given him this familiar clap on the back, but found none, neither in the Yard nor Field next to it.

But though he did not, this stroak, albeit he thought it afterwards (finding nothing come of it) a meer delusion; yet not long before his death it had more force with him than all the Philosophical Arguments I could use to him, though I could winde him and nonplus him as I pleased; but yet all my Arguments, how solid soever, made no impression upon him.

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Wherefore after several reasonings of the snature, whereby I would prove to him the Souls distinction from the Body. and its Immortality, when nothing of such subtile consideration did any more execution on his mind, than some Lightning is said to do, though it melt the Sword, on the fuzzy consistency of the Scabbard: Well, Said I, Father L. though none of these things move you, I have something still behind. and what your self has acknowledged to me to be true, that may do the business. Do you remember the clap on your Back when your Servant was pulling off your Boots in the Hall? Assure your self, Said I, Father L. that Goblin will be the first that will bid you welcome into the other World. Upon that his Countenance changed most sensibly, and he was more confounded with this rubbing up his memory, than with all the Rational or Philosophical Argumentations that I could produce.

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Indeed, if there were any modesty left in mankind, the Histories of the Bible might abundantly assure men of the existence of Angels and Spirits. But these Wits, as they are taken to be, are so jealous, for sooth, and so sagacious, that what soever is offered to them by way of established Religion, is suspected for a piece of politick Circumvention; which is as filly notwithstanding, and as childish, as that conceit of a Friend of yours when he was a School-Boy in the lowest Form of a Country Grammar-school, who could not believe scarce that there were any such men as Cato, and Æsop. and Ovid, and Virgil, and Tully, much less that they wrote any such Books, but that it was a trick of our Parents to keep us up so many hours of the day together, and hinder us from the enjoying our innocent pastime in the open Air and the pleasure of planting little Gardens of Flowers, and of

hunting of Butter-flies, and Bumble-Bees.

Besides, though what is once true never becomes false, so that it may be truely said it was not once true; yet these shrewd Wits suspect the truth of things for their antiquity, and for that very reason think them the less credible: Which is as wisely done as of the Old Woman the Story goes of, Who being at Church in the week before Easter, and hearing

our's Crucifixion, was in great sorrow at the reciting thereof; and so sollicitous about the business, that she came to the
Priest after Service with tears in her Eyes, dropping him a
Courtsie, and asked him how long ago this sad accident hapned; to whom he answering about Fifteen or Sixteen hundred
years ago, she presently began to be comforted, and said,
Then in grace of God it may not be true. At this pitch of
wit in Children and Old Wives, is the Reason of our professed Wit-would-be's of this present Age, who will catch
at any slight occasion or pretence of misbelieving those things

that they cannot endure should be true.

And forasmuch as such course-grain'd Philosophers as those Hobbians and Spinozians, and the rest of that Rabble, flight Religion and the Scriptures, because there is such express mention of Spirits and Angels in them, things that their dull Souls are so inclinable to conceit to be impossible; I look upon it as a special piece of Providence that there are ever and anon such fresh Examples of Apparitions and Witchcrafts as may rub up and awaken their benummed and lethargick Minds into a suspicion at least, if not assurance, that there are other intelligent Beings besides those that are clad in heavy Earth or Clay. In this, I fay, methinks the Divine Providence does plainly outwit the Powers of the dark Kingdom, in permitting wicked men and women, and vagrant Spirits of that Kingdom, to make Leagues or Covevants one with another the Confession of Witches against their own Lives being so palpable an Evidence, (besides the miraculous feats they play) that there are bad Spirits, which will necessarily open a Door to the belief that there are good ones, and lastly, that there is a God.

Wherefore let the small Philosophick Sir Foplings of this present Age deride them as much as they will, those that lay out their pains in committing to writing certain well-attested Stories of Witches and Apparitions, do real service to true Religion and sound Philosophy, and the most effectual and accommodate to the confounding of Insidelity and Atheism, even in the Judgment of the Atheists themselves, who are

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as much afraid of the truth of these Stories as an Ape is of a Whip; and therefore force themselves with might and main to disbelieve them by reason of the dreadful consequence of them as to themselves. The wicked fear where no fear is, but God is in the generation of the Righteous. And he that fears God and has Faith in Jesus Christ, need not fear how many Devils there be nor be afraid of himself or his own Immortality. And therefore it is nothing but a foul dark Conscience within, or a very gross and dull constitution of Blood, that makes men so averse from these Truths.

But however, be they as averse as they will, being this is the most accommodate medicine for this Disease, their diligence and care of Mankind is much to be commended that make it their business to apply it, and are resolved, though the peevishness and perverseness of the Patients makes them pull off their plaister, (as they have this excellent one of the Story of the Dæmon of Tedworth by decrying it as an Imposture, so acknowledged by both your self and Mr Mompesfon) are resolved, I say, with meekness and charity to bind it on again, with the addition of new Filletting, I mean other Stories Sufficiently fresh and very well attested and certain. This worthy design therefore of yours, I must confess, I cannot but highly commend and approve, and therefore wish you all good success therein; and so, committing you to God, I take leave, and rest

> Your Affectionate Friend to serve you,

> > H. M.

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## POSTSCRIPT.

HIS Letter lying by me some time before I thought it opportune to convey it, and in the mean while meeting more than once with those that seemed to have some opinion of Mr Webser's Criticisms and Interpretations of Scripture, as if he had quitted himself so well there, that no proof thence can hereafter be expected of the Being of a Witch, which is the scope that he earnestly aims at; and I reflecting upon that passage in my Letter, which does not stick to condemn Webster's whole Book for a weak and impertinent piece, presently thought fit, (that you might not think that Censure over-rash or unjust) it being an endless task to shew all the weaknesses and impertinencies of his Discourse, briefly by way of Postscript, to hint the weakness and impertinency of this part which is counted the Master-piece of the Work, that thereby you may perceive that my judgment has not been at all rash touching the whole.

And in order to this, we are first to take notice what is the real scope of his Book: which if you peruse, you shall certainly find to be this: That the parties ordinarily deemed Witches and Wizards, are only Knaves and Queans, to use his Phrase, and arrant Cheats, or deep Melancholists; but have no more to do with any Evil Spirit, or Devil, or the Devil with them, than he has with other Sinners or wicked Men, or they with the Devil. And Secondly, we are impartially to define what is the true Notion of a Witch or Wizzard, which is necessary for the detecting of Webster's Impertinencies.

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As for the words Witch and Wizzard, from the Notation of them, they fignifie no more than a wife Man, or wife Woman. In the word Wizzard, it is plain at the very first fight. And I think the most plain and least operose deduction of the name Witch, is from Wit, whose derived Adjective might be Wittigh or Wittich, and by contraction afterwards Witch; as the Noun wit is from the Verb to weet, which is, to know. So that a Witch. thus far, is no more than a knowing Woman; which an-Iwers exactly to the Latine word Saga, according to that of Festus, Saga dicta anus qua multa sciunt. Thus in general: But use questionless had appropriated the word to fuch a kind of skill and knowledge, as was out of the common road or extraordinary. Nor did this peculiarity imply in it any unlawfulness. But there was after a further restriction and most proper of all, and in which alone now adays the words Witch and Wizzard are used. And that is, for one that has the knowledge or skill of doing or telling things in an extraordinary way, and that in vertue of either an express or implicite fociation or confederacy with some Evil Spirit. This is a true and adequate definition of a Witch or Wizzard, which to whomfoever it belongs, is fuch, & vice verfa. But to prove or defend, that there neither are, nor ever were any fuch, is, as I faid, the main scope of Webfer's Book: In order to which, he endeavours in his fixth and eighth Chapters to evacuate all the Testimonies of Scripture: which how weakly and impertinently he has done, I shall now shew with all possible brevity and perspicuity.

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The words that he descants upon, are Deut. ch. 18.

V. 10. 11. There shall not be found among you any one that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an Enthanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer. The first word or name in the Hebrew is DDD DDD [Kosem Kesamim] a Diviner. Here because DDP [Kasam] sometimes has an indifferent sence, and signifies to divine by natural

natural Knowledge or humane Prudence or Sagacity; therefore nothing of such a Witch as is imagined to make a visible League with the Devil, or to have her Body fuckt by him, or have carnal copulation with him. or is really turned into a Cat, Hare, Wolf, or Dog, can be deduced from this word. A goodly inference indeed. and hugely to the purpose, as is apparent from the foregoing definition. But though that cannot be deduced, vet in that this Divination that is here forbidden, is plainly declared abominable and execrable, as it is v. 12. it is manifest that such a Divination is understood that really is fo; which cannot well be conceived to be. unless it imply either an express or implicite inveaglement with some evil invisible Powers who assist any kind of those Divinations that may be comprehended under this general term. So that this is plainly one name of Witchcraft according to the genuine definition thereof. And the very words of Saul to the Witch of Endor, are, that is to fay, Divine to me I pray thee by thy familiar Spirit. Which is more than by natural knowledge or humane fagacity.

The next word is [Megnonen] which though our English Translation renders (from yy [Gnon] Tempus) an Observer of Times; (which should rather be a Declarer of the seasonableness of the time, or unfeafonableness as to fuccess; a thing which is enquired of also from Witches) yet the usual sence rendred by the Learned in the Language, is Prestigiator, an Impofer on the fight , Sapientes prifci, fays Buxtorf, a [" [Gnajin, Oculus] deduxerunt & [Yu] [Megnonen] effe eum dixerunt, qui tenet & prastringit oculos, ut falsum pro vero videant. Lo another word that fignifies a Witch or a Wizzard, which has its name properly from impofing on the fight, and making the by-stander believe he fees Forms or Transformations of things he fees not. As when Anne Bodenham transformed her felf before Anne Styles into the shape of a great Cat; Anne Styles her fight was so imposed upon, that the thing to her

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But such a delusion certainly cannot be performed without confederacy with evil Spirits. For to think the word signifies Prastigiator in that sence we translate in English, Juggler, or an Hocus-Pocus, is so fond a conceit, that no man of any depth of wit can endure it. As if a Merry Juggler that plays tricks of Legerdemain at a Fair or Market, were such an abomination to either the God of Israel, or to his Lawgiver Moses; or as if an Hocus-Pocus were so wise a wight as to be consulted as an Oracle: For it is said v. 14. For the Nations which thou shalt possess, they consult U. 14. For the Nations which thou shalt possess, they consult Megnonenim What, do they consult Jugglers and Hocus-Pocusses? No certainly they consult Witches or Wizzards, and Diviners, as Anne Styles did Anne Bodenham. Wherefore here is

evidently a second name of a Witch.

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The third word in the Text, is wond [Menachefh] which our English Translation renders, an Enchanter. And with M' Webster's leave, (who insulteth so over their supposed ignorance) I think they have translated it very learnedly and judiciously: For Charming and Enchanting, as Webster himself acknowledges, and the words intimate, being all one, the word מנחש [Menachest ] here, may very well signifie Enchanters or Charmers; but fuch properly as kill Serpents by their charming, from wn [Nachash] which signifies a Serpent, from whence comes un [Nichefh] to kill Serpents or make away with them. For a Verb in Pibel, sometimes (especially when it is formed from a Noun) has a contrary fignification. Thus from שרש radix is שרש radices evulsie, from Tun Cinis removit Cineres, from NON peccavit NON expiavit à peccato; and so lastly from wn Serpents, is made wn liberavit à serpentibus, nempe occidendo val fugando per incantationem. And therefore there feems to have been a great deal of skill and depth of judgment in our English Translators that rendred wnjo [Menachesh] an Enchanter, especially when that of Augur or Southfayer, which the Septuagint call "Olani Compion

might seem less suitable with this black List: For there is no such abomination in adventuring to tell, when the wild Geese sly high in great companies and cackle much, that hard weather is at hand. But to rid Serpents by a Charm, is above the power of Nature; and therefore an indication of one that has the assistance of some invisible Spirits to help him in this exploit, as it happens in several others; and therefore this another name

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of one that is really a Witch.

The Fourth word is, מכשף [Mecasseph] which our English Translators render, a Witch; for which I have no quarrel with them, unless they should so understand it that it must exclude others from being so in that sence I have defined, which is impossible they should. But this, as the foregoing, is but another term of the same thing; that is, of a Witch in general, but so called here from the prestigious imposing on the fight of Beholders. Buxtorf tells us, that Aben Ezra defines those to be מכשפים [Mecassephim] qui mutant & transformant res naturales ad aspectum oculi. Not as Jugglers and Hocus-Pocuses, as Webster would ridiculously infinuate. but so as I understood the thing in the second name: For these are but several names of a Witch, who may have feveral more properties than one name intimates. Whence it is no wonder that Translators render not them always alike. But so many names are reckoned up here in this clause of the Law of Moses, that, as in our Common-Law, the fence may be more fure, and leave no room to evasion. And that here this name is not from any tricks of Legerdemain as in common Jugglers that delude the fight of the people at a Market or Fair. but that it is the name of fuch as raise Magical Spectres to deceive mens fight, and fo are most certainly Witches. is plain from Exod. 22. 18. Thou shalt not suffer הכשפה [Mechassephah] that is, a Witch to live. Which would be a Law of extream severity, or rather cruelty, against a poor Hocus-Pocus for his tricks of Legerdemain. The it)

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The Fifth name is חובר חבר [Chobber Chebber] which our English Translators render Charmer, which is the same with Enchanter. Webster upon this name is very tedious and flat, a many words, and finall weight in them. I shall dispatch the meaning briefly thus: This חובר חבר [Chobber Chebber] that is to fay, Socians Societatem is another name of a Witch, so called specially, either from the consociating together Serpents by a Charm, which has made men usually turn it (from the example of the Septuagints inasw inausli) a Charmer, or an Enchanter: or else from the society or compact of the Witch with some evil Spirits; which Webster acknowledges to have been the opinion of two very learned Men, Martin Luther, and Perkins; and I will add a third, Aben Ezra, (as Martinius hath noted) who gives this reason of the word חובר [Chobber] an Enchanter, which fignifies Socians or Jungens, viz. Quod malignos Spiritus sibi associat. And certainly one may charm long enough, even till his Heart ake, e're he make one Serpent affemble near him, unless helpt by this confederacy of Spirits that drive them to the Charmer. He keeps a pudder with the fixth verse of the fifty eighth Pfalm to no purpose: Whenas from the Hebrew, אשר לא ישמע לקיל מלחשים חובר חברים מרכם , if you repeat שיוסא שונה before אונה you may with ease and exactness render it thus; That hears not the voice of muttering Charmers, no not the voice of a confederate Wizzard or Charmer that is skilful. But seeing Charms, unless with them that are very shallow and fillily credulous, can have no fuch effects of themselves, there is all the reason in the world (according as the very word intimates, and as Aben Ezra has declared) to ascribe the effect to the assistance, confederacy, and co-operation of Evil Spirits, and fo חובר חברום [Chobher Chabharim] סר חובר חבר (Chobher Chebher] will plainly fignifie a Witch or a Wizzard according to the true definition of them. But for J. Webster's rendring this verse p. 119. thus, Que non audiet vocem mustiantium incantationes do li Incantantis, which he faith is doubtless the most genuine rendring of the place) let any skilful man apply it to the Hebrew Text, and he will presently find it Grammatical Nonsence. If that had been the sence it should have been ברכו חובר בחבר חובר.

The Sixth word is, שיאל אוב [ShoelObh] which our English Translation renders, a Consulter with familiar Spirits; but the Septuagint 'Emaseluv9@. Which therefore must needs signifie him that has this familiar Spirit: And therefore בוא האוש [Shoel Obh] I conceive, (confidering the rest of the words are so to be understood) is to be understood of the Witch or Wizzard himself that asks counsel of his Familiar, and does by vertue of him give Answers unto others. The reason of the name of אוב [Obh] 'tis likely was taken first from that Spirit that was in the Body of the Party, and swelled it to a protuberancy like the fide of a Bottle. But after, without any relation to that circumstance, OBH signifies as much as Pytho; as Pytho alfo, though at first it took its name from the Fythii Vates, signifies no more than Spiritum Divinationis in general, a Spirit that tells hidden things or things to come. And OBH and Pytho alfo agree in this, that they both fignific either the divinatory Spirit it felf, or the party that has that Spirit. But here in שואר אוב [Shoel Obb] it being rendred by the Septuagint 'E waseluve , OBH is necessarily understood of the Spirit it self, as Pytho is Alls 16. 16. if you read πνευμα πύθωνα, with Isaac Casaubon; but if πύθων , it may be understood either way. Of this πνευμα πύθων, it is recorded in that place, That Paul being grieved, turned and faid to that Spirit, I command thee, in the Name of Jesus Christ, to come out of her, and he came out at the same bour; which fignifies as plainly as any thing can be fignified, that this Pytho or Spirit of Divination, that this OBH was in her: For nothing can come out of the Sack that was not in the Sack, as the Spanish Proverb has it; nor could this Pytho come out of her, unless it was a Spirit distinct from her: wherefore

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wherefore I am amazed at the profane impudence of F. Webster, that makes this Pytho in the Maid there mentioned, nothing but a wicked humour of cheating and couzening Divination: and adds, that this Spirit was no more cast out of that Maid, than the seven Devils out of Mary Magdalen, which he would have understood only of her feveral Vices; which foolish Familistical conceit he puts upon Beza as well as Adie. Wherein as he is most unjust to Beza, so he is most grossy impious and blasphemous against the Spirit of Christ in St. Paul and St. Luke, who makes them both fuch Fools as to believe that there was a Spirit or divining Devil in the Maid, when according to him there is no fuch thing. Can any thing be more frantick or ridiculous than this passage of St. Paul, if there was no Spirit or Devil in the Damsel? But what will this prophane Shuffler stick to do in a dear regard to his beloved Hags, of whom he is fworn Advocate, and refolved Patron right or wrong?

But to proceed, that IN [Obh] fignifies the Spirit it felf that divines, not only he that has it, is manifest from Levit. 20. v. 27. Vir autem sive mulier cum fuerit [בהם אוב] in eis Pytho. And I Sam. ch. 28. v. 8. Divina queso mihi [באוב] per Pythonem. In the Septuagint it is is to me Emaseunide, that is, by that Spirit that fometimes goes into the body of the party, and thence gives answers; but here it only fignifies a Familiar Spirit. And lastly, בעלת אוב [Bagnalath Obh] I Sam. 28. v. 7. Que habet Pythonem; there OBH must needs signifie the Spirit it felf, of which she of Endor was the Owner or Possessor; that is to say, it was her Familiar Spirit. But see what brazen and stupid impudence will do, here בעלת אוב [Bagnalath Obb] with Webster must not signifie one that has a Familiar Spirit, but the Mistress of the Bottle. Who but the Master of the Bottle, or rather of whom the Bottle had become Master, and by guzling had made his Wits excessively muddy and frothy, could ever stumble upon such a fool-

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ish Interpretation? But because IN [Obh] in one place of the Scripture signifies a Bottle, it must signifie so here, and it must be the Instrument, for sooth, out of which this cheating Quean of Endor does whisper, peep, or chirp like a chicken coming out of the Shell, p. 129. 165. And does she not, I beseech you, put her Neb also into it sometimes, as into a Reed, as it is said of that Bird, and cry like a Butterbump? certainly he might as well have interpreted INTILL [Bagnalath Obh] of the great Tun of Heydelberg, that Tom. Coriat takes such

special notice of, as of the Bottle.

And truly fotar as I fee, it must be some such huge Tun at length, rather than the Bottle, that is, such a spacious Tub as he in his deviceful imagination fancies Manasses to have built; a maisor forsooth, or Oracular Ædifice for cheating Rogues and Queans to play their couzening tricks in; from that place 2 Chron. 33.6. ועשה אוב Et fecit Pythonem. Now fays he, how could Manasses make a Familiar Spirit, or make one that had a Familiar Spirit? Therefore he made a Bottle, a Tun, or a large Tub, a marlior, or Oracular Edifice for cheating Rogues and Queans to play their couzening tricks in. Very wisely argued, and out of the very depth of his ignorance of the Hebrew Tongue! whenas if he had looked into Buxtorf's Dictionary he might have understood that ששה tiguifies not only fecit, but also paravit, comparavit, acquisivit, magni fecit, none of which words imply the making of OBH in his fence, but only the appointing them to be got, and countenancing them. For in Webfter's fence he did not make 'Irule [Jidegnoni] neither, that is Wizzards; and yet Manasses is said to make them both alike. יעשה איב וידעני Et fecit Pythonem & Magos. So plain is it that are [Obh] fignifies Pytho, and that adequately in the same sence that Pytho does, either a Familiar Spirit, or him that has that Spirit of Divination But in בעלת אוב [Bagnalath Obh] it necessarily fignifies the Familiar Spirit it felf, which assisted the Witch of Endor; whereby it is manifest she is rightly called called a Witch. As for his Stories of counterfeit Ventriloquists, (and who knows but some of his counterfeit Ventriloquists may prove true ones) that is but the thread bare Sophistry of Sadducees and Atheists to elude the faith of all true stories by those that are of counterfeits or feigned.

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The feventh word is 'דעוני [Fidegnoni] which our English Translators render a Wizzard. And Webster is fo kind as to allow them to have translated this word aright. Wizzards then Webster will allow, that is to fay, He-witches, but not She-Witches. How tender the man is of that Sex! But the word invites him to it, ירעוני [Jidegnoni] coming from ידע scire, and answering exactly to Wizzard or Wife-man. And does not Witch, from wit and weet, fignifie as well a Wife woman, as I noted above? And as to the sence of those words from whence they are derived, there is no hurt herein; and therefore if that were all, ידעוני [fidegnoni] had not been in this black Lift. Wherefore it is here understood in that more restrict and worst sence: so as we understand usually now adays Witch and Wizzard, such wise Men and Women whose skill is from the confederacy of evil Spirits, and therefore are real Wizzards and Witches. In what a bad fence ידעיני [fidegnoni] is understood, we may learn from Levit. 20, 27. A man also or woman that hath a familiar Spirit, or that is a Wizzard [Jidegnoni] shall be put to death, they shall stone them with stones, &c.

The last word is שוחח שוח [Doresh Hammethim] which our Translators rightly render Necromancers; that is, those that either upon their own account, or defired by others, do raise the Ghosts of the deceased to consult with; which is a more particular term than consult with; which is a more particular term than [Bagnal Obb.] But he that is Bagnal Obb. may be also Doresh Hammethim a Necromancer, as appears in the Witch of Endor. Here Webster by שחחח [Hammethim] the Dead, would understand dead Statues; but let him, if he can, any where shew in all the Scripture where

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where the word arm [Hammethim] is used of what was not once alive. He thinks he hits the nail on the head in that place of Isaias, ch. 8. v. 19. And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto (חיבאה, that is, to בעדות אוב, fuch as the Witch of Endor was) them that have familiar Spirits, and to Wizzards that peep and that mutter: (the Hebrew has it מהנים and המצבעפים; that is, that speak with a querulous murmurant or musfitant voice, when they either conjure up the Spirit, or give responses. If this be to peep like a Chicken, Isaiah himself peept like a Chicken, ch. 38. 14.) should not a people feek unto their God? for the living, [בית השתים או to the dead? where Hammethim is so far from signifying dead Statues, that it must needs be understood of the Ghosts of dead men, as here in Deuteronomy. None but one that had either stupidly, or wilfully forgot the story of Samuel's being raised by that בעלת אוב [Bagnalath Obh] the Witch of Endor, could ever have the face to affirm, that and [Hammethim] here in Isaiah is to be understood of dead Statues, when Wizzards or Necromancers were so immediately mentioned before, especially not Webster, who acknowledges that שואל איב [Shoel Obh] fignifies a Necromancer in this Deuteronomical List of abominable names. And therefore, forfooth, would have it a Tautologie that Doresh Hammethim should fignifie so too. But I say it is no Tautologie, this last term being more express and restrict. And befides, this enumeration is not intended as an accurate Logical division of Witches or Witchcraft into so many distinct kinds, but a reciting of several names of that ill Trade, though they will interfere one with another, and have no fignifications fo precifely diffinct. But, as I faid before, this fuller recounting of them is made, that the prohibition in this, form might be the furer fence against the sin. And now therefore what will J. Webster get by this, if Doresh Hammethim will not signisie a Witch of Endor, when it must necessarily signifie a Necromancer, which is as much against his Tooth as the other? other? Nay indeed this Necromancer is also a Witch or Wizzard, according to the definition produced above.

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The rest of the Chapter being so inconsiderable, and I having been so long already upon it, I shall pass to the next, after I have defired you to take notice how weak and childish, or wild and impudent, Mr Webster has been in the Interpretation of Scripture hitherto, in the behalf of his fage Dames, to fence off their reproach of being termed Witches; whenas there is scarce one word in this place of Deuteronomy that does not imply aWitch or Wizzard, according to the real definition thereof. And truly he feems himself to be conscious of the weakness of his own performance, when, after all this ado, the sum at last amounts to but this; That there are no Names in all the Old Testament that signifie such a Witch that destroy Men or Beasts, that makes a visible compact with the Devil, or on whose body he sucketh, or with whom he hath carnal Copulation, or that is really changed into a Cat, Hare, Dog, or such like. And to shew it amounts to no more than so, was the task we undertook in this Chapter.

But assure your felf, if you peruse his Book carefully, you shall plainly find, that the main drift thereof is to prove, as I above noted, that there is no fuch Witch as with whom the Devil has any thing more to do than with any other Sinner; which notwithstanding, this Conclufion of his a little before recited, comes infinitely short of: and therefore this fixth Chapter, confifting of about 30 pages in Folio, is a meer piece of impertinency. And there will be Witches for all this, whether these particularities be noted in them or no; For it was fufficient for Moles to name those ill sounding terms in general, which imply a Witch according to that general notion I have above delivered; which if it be prohibited, namely the having any thing to do with evil Spirits, their being fuckt by them, or their having any lustful or venereous transactions with them, is much more prohibited. But

But for some of these particularities also they may ofth feem to be in some manner hinted at in some of the the words, especially as they are rendred sometimes by skilful Interpreters: for קשם [Mecasseph] is translated by Vatablus, and the vulgar Latine Maleficus, by the Septuagint paguands, that is Veneficus; which words fignifie mischievously enough both to Man and Beast. Befides that Mecasteph carries along with it the fignification of Transformation also; and haply this may be the difference betwixt מעונו [Mecaffiph] and מעונו [Meanonen] that the former uses prestigious Transformations to some great mischief, as where law Magnus tells of those that have transformed themselves into Wolves to Mens thinking, and have prefently fall'n upon worrying of Sheep. Others transformed in their Astral Spirit, into various shapes, get into Houses, and do mischief to Men and Children, as I remember Remigius reports. And therefore it is less wonder that that sharp Law of Moles is against the TOUDD [Mecassephah] such a Witch as this is, Thou halt not luffer a Witch to live; this may be a more peculiar fignification of that word. And now for making a Compact with the Devil, how naturally does that name חובר חבר [Chobber Chebber] fignifie that feat also? But for fucking and copulation, though rightly stated it may be true, yet I confess there is nothing hinted towards that, fo far as I fee, as indeed it was neither necessary that the other should be. But these are the very dregs, the Fax Magorum & Sagarum that fink into those abominations, against which a fufficient Bar is put already by this prohibition in general by fo many names. And the other is fo filthy, base, and nasty, that the mention thereof was neither fit for the facred Style of Moses's Law, nor for the Ears of the People.

In my passing to the eight Chapter I will onely take rotice by the way of the shameless impudence of f. Webster, who in favour to his beloved Hags, that they may never be thought to do any thing by the affiftance

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of the Devil, makes the Victory of Moses, with whom the mighty hand of God was, or of Christ, (who was the Angel that appeared first to Moses in the Bush, and conducted the Children of I frael out of Egypt to the promised Land) to be the victory only over so many Hocus-Pocuses, so many Juglers that were, as it feems, old excellent at the tricks of Legerdemain; which is the bafelt derogation to the glory of that Victory, and the vi'est reproach against the God of Israel and the Person of Moses, that either the malicious wit of any Devil can invent, or the dulness of any funk Soul can stumble upon. Affuredly there was a real conflict here betwixt the Kingdom of Light and the Kingdom of Darkness, and the Evil Spirits thereof, which affilted the הרטמים [Hartummim] the Magicians of Egypt; who before that name is named, that no man may mistake, are called מכשפים [Mecaffephim] fuch kind of Magicians as can exhibit to the fight manifold prestigious Transformations through diabolical affiftance, and are rendred Malefici by good Interpreters, as I noted above; that is, they were Wizzards or He-Witches. The felf same word being used in that severe Law of Moses, Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live. Are not these Magicians then examples plain enough that there are Witches; that is to fay, such wretched Wights as do strange miraculous things by the affiftance or confociation of evil Spirits?

O no, fays Mr Webster, these are only מבמים [Chacamim] Wisemen, and great Naturalists, who all what they did, they did בלהטים by their bright glittering Lamina, for so להטים for sooth must signifie. But what necessity thereof that הם should signifie Lamina? there is only the pretence of that one place, Gen. 3. 24. הום הרב, where it is הום only that signifies the Lamina, and that of a long form, scarce usual in those magical Lamina with Signatures celestial upon them, which J. Webster would be at; but הום signifies meerly Flamina; so that בלהטיה by this account must signifie

by their flames, if it be from var ardere, flammar former And therefore Buxtorfius judiciously places the word un which is der טוף abscondit, obvolvit, reading not בלהט הם,bu And s בראטיהם, which is as much as to fay, occultis suis ra liar spir tionibus Magicis, which is briefly rendred in English, א בירנאדי their Enchantments; which agrees marvellously well with Wife-w מכשפים [Mecaffephim] which is as much as Praftigia. vertue tores Magici, or fuch as do strange wonderous things in not by an hidden way by the help of evil Spirits. But that the Does h Agyptian Magicians should do those things that are have ha there recorded of them in Exodus, by vertue of any La- carried mels or Plates of Metal with certain Sculptures or Fi- Girdle gures under such or such a Constellation, is a thing so fortish and foolish, that no man that is not himself, bewitched by some old Hag or Hobgoblin, can ever take Sanctuary here to fave himself or his old Dames from being in a capacity, from this History in Exodus, of being accounted Witches. For if there may be He-witches, that is, Magicians, such as these of Egypt were, I leave F. Webster to scratch his head to find out any reason why there may not be She-witches also.

And indeed that of the Witch of Endor, to pass at length to the eighth Chapter, is as plain a proof thereof as can be defired by any man whose mind is not blinded with prejudices. But here J. Webster, not impertinently, I confess, for the general, (abating him the many tedious particular impertinencies that he has clogged his Discourse with) betakes himself to these two ways, to shew there was nothing of a Witch in all that whole First, by pretending that all the transaction on the Woman of Endor's part was nothing but collufion and a Cheat, Saul not being in the same Room with her, or at least seeing nothing if he was. And then in the next place, That Samuel that is faid to appear, could neither be Samuel appearing in his Body out of the Grave, nor in his Soul; nor that it was a Devil that appeared: and therefore it must be some colluding Knave suborned by the Witch. For the discovering the weakness of his

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former Allegation, we need but to appeal to the Text,

Unwhich is this, 1 Sam. 28. v. 8.

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And Saul said, I pray thee, divine unto me by the famitiar spirit, and bring me up whom I shall name unto thee, לקסיםי-נאדי , that is, do the office of a Divineres, or a Wife-woman, I pray thee, unto me, באוב [Beobh] by vertue of the familiar Spirit, whose assistance thou hast, not by vertue of the Bottle, as Mr Webster would have it. Does he think that Damsel in the Atts which is said to the have had πνευμα πύθον Φ, that is, to have had אוב [Obh] carried an Aquavitæ-bottle about with her, hung at her Girdle, whereby she might divine and mutter, chirp, or o peep out of it, as a Chicken out of an Egg-shell, or put her Neb into it to cry like a Bittern, or take a dram of the Bottle to make her wits more quick and divinatory? Who but one that had taken too many drams of the Bottle could ever fall into such a fond conceit? Wherefore IN [Obb] in this place does not, as indeed no where elle, signifie an oracular Bottle or marleior, into which Saul might defire the Woman of Ender to retire into, and himself expect answers in the next Room; but fignifies that familiar Spirit by vertue of whose affiltance The was conceived to perform all those wondrous offices of a Wise-woman. But we proceed to verse 11.

Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel. Surely as yet Saul and the woman are in the fame Room; and being the woman askt, Whom shall I bring up unto thee ? and he an-Iwering, Bring up unto me Samuel, it implies that Samuel was fo to be brought up that Saul might fee him, and

not the Witch only. But we go on, Verse 12.

And when the woman faw Samuel, she cryed with a loud voice: and the woman spake to Saul, saying, Why hast thou deceived me? for thou art Saul. Though the Woman might have some suspicions before that it was Saul, yet the now feeing Samuel did appear, and in another kind of way than her Spirits used to do, and in another ane, as it is most likely so holy a Soul did, she presently cryed

out with a loud voice, (not muttered, chirpt, and peeps a Chicken coming out of the Shell) that now she was sure al, m was Saul: For the was not fuch a Fool as to think he ion of Art could call up real Samuel, but that the presence and rise Saul was the cause thereof: And Josephus writes e of Sami prefly, OTI Seasaution to zwinor and en seturde n' Seonger turning ταράτθεται, κή προς των όξιν εκπλαγον, έσυ, φησίν, ό Ban Saul hi Asus ZienG; i. e. The Woman Seeing a grave God-li might man, is startled at it, and thus astonished at the Vision terpole turned her self to the King, and said, Art not thou Kin those S Saul? Verse 13.

tion th And the King said unto her, Be not afraid; for who did of sawest thou? And the Woman said unto Saul, I saw God thers ascending out of the Earth. The King here assures the upon Woman, that though he was Saul, yet no hurt should and it come to her, and therefore bids her not be afraid: Bu the C the turning her face to Saul, as the spake to him, and proce he to her, and so her fight being off from the object, Saul asked her, What Sawest thou? and she in like manner answered, I saw Gods, &c. For Gods I suppose any free Translator in Greek, Latin, and English, would fay, Saipovas, Genios, Spirits. And Train fignifies acco Angels as well as Gods; and it is likely these Wise women take the Spirits they converse with to be good Angels, as Anne Bodenham the Witch told a worthy and learned Friend of mine, That these Spirits, such as the had, were good Spirits, and would do a man all good offices all the days of his life; and it is likely this woman of Endor had the same opinion of hers, and therefore we need not wonder that she calls them אדהים [Elochim] especially Samuel appearing among them, to fay nothing of the presence of Saul. And that more than one Spirit appears at a time, there are repeated examples in Anne Bodenham's Magical Evocations of them, whose History, I must confess, I take to be very true.

The case stands therefore thus: The Woman and Saul being in the same Room, she turning her face from

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ure mutters to her felf some Magical form of evocatheion of Spirits; whereupon they beginning to appear ce and rife up, feemingly out of the Earth, upon the fight se of Samuel's Countenance, she cryed out to Saul, and for turning her face towards him spoke to him. Now that Ban Saul hitherto faw nothing, though in the same Room, might be either because the body of the woman was infor terposed betwixt his eyes and them, or the Vehicles of in those Spirits were not yet attempered to that conspissation that they would strike the eyes of Saul, though they the did of the Witch. And that some may see an Object others not feeing it, you have an instance in the Child the upon Walker's Shoulders appearing to Mr. Fairbair, and it may be, to the Judge, but invisible to the rest of But the Court; and many fuch examples there are: But I

nd proceed to Verse 14.

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And he said unto her, What form is he of? and she said, n An old man cometh up, and is covered with a Mantle. He asks here in the Singular number, because his mind was only fixt on Samuel. And the womans answer is exactly according to what the Spirit appeared to her, when her Eye was upon it, viz. איש וקן עלה An old man coming up; for he was but coming up when she looked upon him, and accordingly describes him: For my there is a Partic'e of the prefent Tense, and the woman describes Samuel from his Age, Habit, and Motion he was in, while her Eye was upon him. So that the genuine sense and Grammatical in this answer to, What form is he of? is this, an old man coming up, and the same covered with a Mantle, this is his form and condition I faw him in. Wherefore Saul being so much concerned herein, either the woman or he changing their postures or standings, or Samuel by this having sufficiently conspissated his Vehicle and fitted it to Saul's fight also, it follows in the Text, And Saul perceived it was Samuel, and he stooped with his face to the ground and bowed himself.

O the impudent profaneness and sottishness of perverse shufflers and whifflers, that upon the hearing of

this passage can have the face to deny that Saul saw any thing, and merely because the word [perceived] is used, and not [saw;] when the word [perceived] plainly implies that he saw Samuel, and something more, namely, that by his former familiar converse with him, he was assured it was he. So exquisitely did he appear, and over-comingly to his senses, that he could not but acknowledge (for so the Hebrew word yor signifies) that it was he, or else why did he stoop with his Face to the

very Ground to do him honour?

No, no, fays J. Webster, he saw nothing himself, but stood waiting like a drowned Puppet (see of what a base rude spirit this Squire of Hags is, to use such language of a Prince in his diffress) in another Room, to hear what would be the iffue; for all that he understood was from her cunning and lying relations. That this Gallant of Witches should dare to abuse a Prince thus, and feign him as much foolisher and sottisher in his intellectuals, as he was taller in Stature than the rest of the people, even by head and shoulders, and meerly, forfooth, to secure his old Wives from being so much as in a capacity of ever being suspected for Witches, is a thing extreamly coarse, and intolerably fordid. And indeed upon the consideration of Saul's being said to bow himself to Samuel, (which plainly implies that there was there a Samuel that was the object of his fight and of the reverence he made) his own heart misgives him in this mad adventure. And he shifts off from thence to a conceit that it was a confederate Knave that the woman of Endor turned out into the Room where Saul was, to act the part of Samuel, having first put on him her own short Cloak, which she used with her Maund under her arm to ride to Fairs or Markets in. To this Countrey-flouch in the womans Mantle, must King Saul, stooping with his face to the very ground, make his profound obey sance. What, was a Market-womans Cloak and Samuel's Mantle, which Fosephus calls Simhoisa izedinli, a Sacerdotal habit, so like one another? Or if not, how came this woman, be-

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og so surprized of a sudden, to provide her self of such Sacerdotal habit to cloak her confederate Knave in? Was Saul as well a blind as a drowned Puppet, that he could not discern so gross and bold an Imposture as this? Was it possible that he should not perceive that it was not Samuel when they came to confer together, as they did? How could that confederate Knave change his own Face into the same sigure, look, and mien that Samuel had, which was exactly known to Saul? How could be imitate his Voice thus of a suddain, and they discour-

led a very considerable time together?

Besides, Knaves do not use to speak what things are true, but what things are pleasing. And moreover, this woman of Endor, though a Pythoness, yet she was of a very good nature and benign, which Josephus takes notice of, and extols her mightily for it, and therefore she could take no delight to lay further weight on the oppressed Spirit of distressed King Saul; which is another Ign that this Scene was acted bona fide, and that there was no couzening in it. As also that it is another; that the spoke so magnificently of what appeared to her, that the faw Gods afcending. Could the then possibly adventure to turn out a Country-flouch with a Maund-womans Cloak to act the part of fo God-like and divine a Perfonage as Samuel, who was Ogo The Mopole Sport, as the woman describes him in Josephus Antiqu. Judaic. lib. 7. c. 15. Unto all which you may add, That the Scripture it felf, which was written by Inspiration, says expresly, v. 20. that it was Samuel. And the son of Sirach, ch. 46. that Samuel himself prophesyed after his death, referring to this story of the woman of Endor. But for our new-inspired Seers, or Saints, S. Scot, S. Adie, and if you will S. Webster sworn Advocate of the VVitches, who thus madly and boldly, against all sense and reason, against all antiquity, all Interpreters, and against the inspired Scripture it self, will have no Samuel in this Scene, but a cunning confederate Knave, whether the inspired Scripture, or these inblown Bustoons, puffed up with

with nothing but ignorance, vanity, and stupid inside.

lity, are to be believed, let any one judge.

VVe come now to his other Allegation, wherein we shall be brief, we having exceeded the measure of a Post-script already. It was neither Samuel's Soul, says he, joined with his Body, nor his Soul out of his Body, nor the Devil; and therefore it must be some confederate Knave suborned by that cunning cheating Quean of Endor. But I briefly answer, it was the Soul of Samuel himself; and that it is the fruitfulness of the great ignorance of J. Webster in the sound Principles of Theosophy and true Divinity, that has enabled him to heap together no less than Ten Arguments to disprove this Assertion, and all little to the purpose: So little indeed, that I think it little to the purpose particularly to answer them, but shall hint only some sew Truths which will rout the whole band of them.

I say therefore, that departed Souls, as other Spirits, have an adjetation in them, such as Souls have in this life; and have both a faculty and a right to move of themselves, provided there be no express Law against such or such a design to which their motion tends.

Again, That they have a Power of appearing in their own personal shapes to whom there is occasion, as Anne Walker's Soul did to the Miller; and that this being a faculty of theirs either natural or acquirable, the doing

fo is no miracle. And

Thirdly, That it was the strong piercing desire, and deep distress, and agony of mind in Saul, in his perplexed circumstances, and the great compassion and goodness of Spirit in the holy Soul of Samuel, that was the effectual Magick that drew him to condescend to converse with Saul in the womans house at Endor, as a keen sense of Justice and Revenge, made Anne Walker's Soul appear to the Miller with her sive Wounds in her head.

The rigid and harsh severity that Webster fancies Samixes Ghost would have used against the Woman, or sharp

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that preproofs to Saul; As for the latter, it is somewhat express in the Text, and Saul had his excuse in readiness, and the good Soul of Samuel was sensible of his perplexed condition. And as for the former, sith the Soul of Samuel might indeed have terrished the poor Woman, and so unhinged her, that she had been sit for nothing after it, but not converted her, it is no wonder if he passed her by; Goodness and Forbearance more besitting an holy Angelical Soul, than bluster and sury, such as is fancied by that rude Goblin that actuates the

Body and Pen of Webster.

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As for departed Souls, that they never have any care or regard to any of their fellow-Souls here upon Earth, is expresly against the known example of that great Soul, and univerfal Paftor of all good Souls, who appeared to Stephen at his stoning, and to S. Paul before his Conversion, though then in his glorified Body; which is a greater condescension than this of the Soul of Samuel, which was also to a Prince, upon whose shoulders lay the great affairs of the People of Israel: To omit that other notable example of the Angel Raphael fo called, (from his office at that time, or from the Angelical Order he was adopted into after his death) but was indeed the Soul of Azarias the Son of Ananias the Great, and of Tobit's Brethren, Tobit ch. 5. 12. Nor does that which occurs, Tob. 12.15. at all clash with what we have faid, if rightly understood: for his faying, I am Raphael one of the seven holy Angels which present the prayers of the Saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One, in the Cabbalistick sence, signifies no more than thus, That he was one of the universal Society of the holy Angels, (and a Raphael in the Order of the Raphaels) which minister to the Saints, and reinforce the Prayers of good and holy men, by joining thereto their own; and as they are moved by God, minister to their necessities, unprayed to themselves, which would be an abomination to them, but extream prone to second the Petitions of holy fincere Souls, and forward to engage in in the accomplishing of them, as a truly good man would sooner relieve an indigent creature, over-hearing him making his moan to God in Prayer, than if he begged Alms of himself, though he might do that without sin. This Cabbalistical account, I think, is infinitely more probable, than that Raphael told a downright lye to Tobit, in saying he was the son of Ananias when he was not. And be it so, will J. Webster say, what is all this to the purpose, when the Book of Tobit is Apocryphal, and consequently of no Authority? What of no Authority? certainly of infinitely more Authority than Mr Wagstaff, Mr Scot, and Mr Adie, that Mr Webster so

frequently and reverently quoteth.

I but, will he further add, these Apparitions were made to good and holy men, or to elect Veffels; but King Saul was a wretched Reprobate. This is the third liberal badge of honour that this ill-bred Advocate of the Witches has bestowed on a distressed Prince. drowned Pupper, p. 170. then a distracted Bedlam, in the fame Page, which I passed by before; and now, a wretched Reprobate: But affuredly Saul was a brave Prince and Commander, as Josephus justly describes him, and Reprobate only in Type, as Ismael and Esan; which is a mystery, it seems, that J. Webster was not aware of. And therefore no fuch wonder that the Soul of Samuel had fuch a kindness for him, as to appear to him in the depth of his diffress, to settle his mind, by telling him plainly the upfhot of the whole business, that he should lose the Battle, and he and his Sons be slain, that so he might give a specimen of the bravest Valour that ever was atchieved by any Commander, in that he would not fuffer his Country to be over-run by the Enemy while he was alive, without refistance; but though he knew certainly he should fail of success, and he and his Sons dye in the Fight, yet in so just and honourable a Cause as the defence of his Crown and his Country, would give the Enemy Battle in the Field, and facrifice his own Life for the safety of his People. Out of the knowledge of which noble tho final tion in ted of i is within div piff gain from the control of the contro

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cro as I noble spirit in Saul, and his resolved valour in this point, those words haply may come from Samuel. To morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me, (as an auspicious insinuation of their favourable reception into the other World) in בהיצח צרקים in thalamo justorum, as Munster has noted out of the Rabbins.

Lastly, 'As for that weak imputation that this opinion of its being Samuel's Soul that appeared, is Popish, that is very Plebeianly and Idiotically spoken, as if every thing that the Popish Party are for, were Popish. We divide our zeal against so many things that we fancy Popish, that we scarce reserve a just share of detestation against what is truly so: Such as are that gross, rank, and scandalous impossibility of Transubstantiation, the various modes of fulfome Idolatry and lying Impostures, the Uncertainty of their Loyalty to their lawful Soveraigns by their superstitious adhesion to the spiritual Tyranny of the Pope, and that barbarous and ferine Cruelty against those that are not either such Fools as to be perfwaded to believe fuch things as they would obtrude upon men, or are not so false to God and their own Consciences, as knowing better, yet to profess them.

As for that other opinion, that the greater part of the reformed Divines hold. That it was the Devil that appeared in Samuel's shape; and though Grotius also feems to be enclined thereto, alledging that passage of Porphyrius, De Abstinentia Animalium, where he describes one kind of Spirit to be, Ιέν @ ἀπατηλης φύσεως, πανλομοςφόνλε κὶ πολύτερπον, ὑποκεινόμθρον κὶ θεκς κὶ δαίμονας κὶ ψυχάς τεθνημότων. (which is, I confess, very apposite to this story; nor do doubt but that in many of these Necromantick Apparitions, they are ludicrous Spirits, not the Souls of the deceased that appear) yet I am clear for the appearing of the Soul of Samuel in this story, from the reasons above alledged, and as clear, that in other Necromancies it may be the Devil, or such kind of Spirits as Porphyrim above describes, that change themselves into omnifarious

omnifarious forms and shapes, and one while ast the parts of Dæmons, another while of Angels or Gods, and another while of the Souls of the deceased: And I confess such a spirit as this might personate Samuel here, for any thing Webster has alledged to the contrary. For his Arguments indeed are wonderfully weak and woodden, as may be understood out of what I have hinted concerning the former opinion. But I cannot surther particularize now.

For I have made my Postfoript much longer than my Letter, before I was aware; and I need not enlarge to you, who are so well versed in these things already, and can by the quickness of your parts presently collect the whole measures of Hercules by his Foot, and sufficiently understand by this time it is no rash censure of mine in my Letter, That Webster's Book is but a weak impertinent piece of work, the very Master-piece thereof being fo weak and impertinent, and falling fo short of the fcope he aims it, which was really to prove that there was no fuch thing as a Witch or Wizzard, that is, not any mention thereof, in Scripture, by any name of one that had more to do with the Devil, or the Devil with him, than with other wicked men; that is to fay, of one who in vertue of Covenant, either implicit or explicit, did strange things by the help of evil Spirits, but that there are many forts of Deceivers and Impostors, and diver fe persons, under a passive delusion of Melancholy and Fancy, which is part of his very Title-page.

Whereby he does plainly infinuate, there is nothing but Couzenage or Melancholy in the whole business of the feats of Witches. But a little to mitigate or smother the grossness of this false Assertion, he adds, And that there is no corporeal League betwixt the Devil and the Witch; and that he does not suck on the Witches Body, nor has carnal copulation with her, nor the Witches are turned into Dogs or Cats, &c. All which things as you may see in his Book, he understands in the grossest manner imaginable, as if the Imps of Witches had Mouths of Flesh

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to fick them, and Bodies of Flesh lie with them. And at this rate he may understand a corporeal League, as if it were no League or Covenant, unless some Lawyer drew the Instrument, and engrossed it in Vellum or thick Parchment, and there were so many Witnesses with the Hand and Seal of the Party: nor any Transformation into Dogs or Cats, unless it were real and corporeal, or grofly carnal; which none of his Witchmongers, as he rudely and flovenly calls that learned and ferious person Dr. Casaubon and the rest, do believe. Only it is a disputable case of their bodily Transformation, betwixt Bodinus and Remigius; of which more in my Scholia. But that without this carnal transmutation a Woman might not be accounted a Witch, is so foolish a supposition, that Webster

himself certainly must be assamed of it.

Wherefore if his Book be writ only to prove there is no fuch thing as a Witch that covenants in Parchment with the Devil, by the advice of a Lawyer, and is really and carnally turned into a Dog, Cat, or Hare, &c. and with carnal lips fucked by the Devil, and is one with whom the Devillies carnally; the scope thereof is manifestly impertinent, when neither Dr. Casaubon nor any one else holds any such thing. But as for the true and adequate notion of a Witch or Wizzard, such as at first I described, his Arguments all of them are too too weak or impertinent, as to the disproving the existence of such a Witch as this, who betwixt his Deceivers, Impostours, and Melancholists on one hand, and those gross Witches he describes, on the other hand, goes away shere as a Hare in a green balk between too Lands of Corn, none of his Arguments reaching her or getting the fight of her, himfelf in the mean time standing on one side amongst the Deceivers and Impostours, his Book, as to the main defign he drives at, being a meer Cheat and Imposture.

C.C.C. May 25. 1678.

Adver-

## Advertisement.

THis Letter of Dr. More being left amongst other Papers appertaining to this new-intended Edition by Mr. Glanvil, and I perceiving in a Letter of his to the Doctor, that he had a mind this Letter should be published together with his Book, it is done accordingly, and prefixed at the beginning thereof, as natural Method requires, the Letter being hortatory to quicken Mr. Glanvil to dispatch his intended new Edition for the undeceiving of the World, and the Postscript containing many things of a general influence uson the whole Book. But that the Doctor may suffer no prejudice through this publishing of his Letter and Postscript, from the sharpness and satyricalness of them in some places, I shall for the more rightly understanding his meaning in the using that mode of writing upon this occasion, transcribe a passage of a Letter of his to his Friend Mr. Glanvil, relating thereto. I pray you fend me word whether that Postscript will not meet with all the elusory cavils of that profane Buffoon, upon those places of holy Scripture: his unworthy usage of the Holy Writ, and his derisorious Interpretations of it in the behalf of his beloved Hags, provoked my indignation to fuch Schemes of deriding and exposing him, as otherwise I should never have condescended to. This is a sufficient Testimony of the Doctor's aversness from such manner of writing. But as Divines tell us, that Anger and Punishment are God's Opus Alienum, his strange work, as being more abborrent from his nature; but yet for the good of the Universe he steps out sometimes into that dispensation: so I think it not misbecoming good men, sometimes to condescend, as the Doctor calls it, to the chastising prophane Drolls and Abusers of holy things, by a just derision and satyrical reprehension for their freakish and impious sauciness, provided it be done sincerely, and for the publick good.

### Saducismus Triumphatus:

OR,

Full and plain EVIDENCE

Concerning

# WITCHES

AND

### APPARITIONS.

The First PART thereof containing

Philosophical Considerations,

Which defend their

## POSSIBILITY.

Whereunto is added,

The true and genuine NOTION, and confistent Explication of the Nature

OF A

## SPIRIT,

For the more full Confirmation of the Possibility of their Existence.

LONDON,

Printed for S. Lownds, M DC LXXXVIII.

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#### To the Illustrious

## CHARLES

DUKE of

Richmond and Lenox.

My LORD,

TOUR Grace having been pleased to command the first, and more imperfect Edition of this Discourse, I have presumed that your Can-Sour will accept the Draught that hath had my last hand apon it. And though I am not fond enough to phancy my Art or Ornament in the composure to recommend it; yet, I know, the Essay is seasonable, and contains things which relate to our biggest Interests; the defign being to secure some of the Out-works of Religion, and to regain a parcel of ground which bold Infidelity hath invaded. And, my Lord, I cannot but observe sadly, that while the Sects are venting their Animosities against each other, and scrambling for their Conceits, and the particular advantages of their way, they perceive not that Atheism comes on by large strides, and enters the Breaches they have made. Sober and considerate men see the formidable danger, and some of them have strenuously endeavoured o maintain the Walls, while the factions within are To busie and so divided, that they cannot attend the desperate

#### The EPISTLE

desperate hazard, and will not join in a Common Desence. Among those generous Desendants I desire to pitch, and have undertaken to make good one of the Forts upon which the Enemy hath made impetuous Assaults, and I hope with no contemptible success.

For my part, my Lord, I am very little concerned for the small pedlaries that some mens fondness calls Religion, by which that sacred thing hath been exposed to a great deal of contempt and dishonour. But yet I think it my duty to have a zeal for those great and certain matters upon which our hopes in another world are grounded: And that our expectations of a future Being, are not imaginary and fantastick, me have reasonable evidence enough from the Attributes of God, the Phanomena of Providence, and the nature of our Souls, to convince any, but those who will stupidly believe that they shall dye like Beasts, that they may live like them. I confess the Philosophick Arguments that are produced for the desirable Article, though very cogent, are many of them speculative and deep, requiring so great an attention and lagacity, that they take no hold upon the whisling spirits, that are not used to consider; nor upon the common fort, that cannot reach such heights of Argument: But they are both best convinced by the proofs that come nearest the sence, which indeed strike our minds fullest, and leave the most lasting impressions; whereas high Speculations being more thin and subtile, easily slide off even from understandings that are most capable to receive them. For this reason, a mong some others, I appear thus much concerned for the justification of the belief of Witches, it suggesting

ing party, no good.

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#### DEDICATORY.

ing palpable and current evidence of our Immortality, which I am exceedingly follicitous to have made good.

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For really, my Lord, if we make our compute like Men, and do not suffer our selves to be abused by the flatteries of Sense, and the deceitful gayeties that feal us away from God, and from our selves, there is nothing can render the thoughts of this odd life toterable, but the expectation of another. And wife men have said, that they would not live a moment, if they thought they were not to live again. This perhaps some may take to be the discontented Paradox of a melancholick, vext, and of mean condition, that is pinched by the straitness of fortune, and envies the heights of others felicity and grandeurs; But by that time those that judge so, have spent the heats of frolick youth, and have past over the several stages of vanity; when they come to sit down, and make sober reflections upon their pleasures and pursuits, and Sum up the accompt of all that is with them, and before them, I doubt not but their considering thoughts will make Solomon's Conclusion, and find, that 'tis but a misery to live, if we were to live for nothing else. So that if the content of the present life were all I were to have for the hopes of Immortality, I should even upon that account be very unwilling to believe that I was mortal: For certainly the pleasures that refult from the thoughts of another World in those that not only see it painted in their imaginations, but feel it begun in their Souls, are as far beyond all the titillations of sence, as a real lasting happiness is beyond the delusive Images of a Dream. And there-

#### The EPISTLE, GC.

fore they that think to secure the enjoyment of their pleasures by the infamy of our natures in the overthrow of our future hopes, endeavour to dam up the Fountain of the fullest and cleanest delights; and seek for limpid waters in the sinks and puddles of the Streets.

You see, my Lord, how my zeal for this mighty interest transports me to a greater length in this address, than perhaps may consist with strict decorum; and I indulge my Pen the rather in this licence, because possibly your Grace's name may draw some eyes hither that have need of such suggestions, and those that have not need a great deal more. It cannot be proper to add here those large accounts which would be requisite in a design of full conviction: But for the present, if they shall please to look forward, they may likely meet some things not unsit for their serious thoughts; and I intend to take a season to present them others, more particularly suitable to what I know is as much their interest, as I doubt it is their want.

But, my Lord, I fear I am importunate, and be-

seech your Grace to pardon the boldness of,

My LORD,

Your Grace's

Most obedient Servant,

Fos. Glanvil.

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## PREFACE.

Here are a fort of narrow and confin'd Spirits, who account all Discourses needless, that are not for their particular purposes; and judge all the World to be of the Size and Genius of those within the Circle of heir Knowledge and Acquaintance; so that with a pert and pragmatique Infolence, they cen sure all the braver Designs and Notices that lie beyond their Ken, as nice and impertinent Speculations: an ignorant and proud Injustice: as if this sort were the only persons, whose bumour and needs should be consulted. And hence it comes to pass, that the greatest and worthiest things that are written or said, do always meet with the most general neglect and scorn, since the lesser people, for whom they were not intended, are quick to shoot their bolt, and to condemn what they do not understand, and because they do not. Whereas on the other side, those that are able to judge, and would incourage, are commonly reserv'd and modest in their sentences; or, if they (hould seek to do right to things that are worthy, they are fure to be out-voiced by the rout of ignorant contemners. Upon which accounts I have often thought that he that courts and values popular estimation, takes not the right way if he endeavour any thing that is really excellent: but he must study the little plausibilities, and accommodate the humour of the MANY, who are active Ministers of Fame, being zealous and loud in their applauses, as they are clamorous and impetuous in their oppositions. As for these, 'tis one of my chief cares to make my felf as much unconcern'd at their Censures, as I am at the cacklings of a flock of Geese, or at the eager displeasure of those little snarling Animals, that are angry when I go along the Streets. Nor can any man be either wife or happy, till he hath arrived to that greatness of mind, that no more considers the tailing of the multitude than the whistling of the wind. Not that I think the common people are to be contemned for the weakness of their understandings; 'tis an infolent meanness of spirit that doth that: but when conceited ignorance sits down in the Judgment Seat, and gives peremptory Verdicts upon things beyond its Line, the wife man smiles and passeth by. For such (if that may signific any thing to keep them from troubling themselves about the following CONSI-DERATIONS) I desire they would take notice from me, that I writ not those things for such as they; and they will do well to throw up the Book upon this Advertisement, except they will stay to hear, That though Philosophical Discourses to justifie the common belief about Witches, are nothing at all to them, or those of their measure; yet they are too seasonable and necessary for our Age, in which Atheism is begun in Saducism: And those that dare not bluntly say, There is NO GOD, content themselves (for a fair step and Introduction) to deny there are SPI-RITS or WITCHES. Which fort of Infidels, though they are not ordinary among the meer vulgar, yet are they numerous in a little higher rank of understandings. And those that know any thing of the World, know, that most of the loofer Gentry, and the small pretenders to Philosophy and Wit, are generally deriders of the belief of Witches and Apparitions. And were this a slight and meer speculative mistake, I should not trouble my self or them about it. But I fear this error hath a Core in it that is worse than Heresie: and therefore how little soever I care what men believe or teach in matters of Opinion, I think I have reason to be concern'd in an affair that toucheth so near upon the greatest interests of Religion. And really I am astonisht sometimes to think into what a kind of Age we are fallen, in which some of the greatest impieties are accounted but Bugs, and terrible Names, invisible Tittles, Peccadillo's, or Chimera's. The sad and greatest instances are SACRI-LEDGE, REBELLION, and WITCHCRAFT. For the two former, there are a sort of men (that are far from being profest Enemies to Religion) who, I do not know whether they own any such Vices. We find no mention of them

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in their most particular Confessions, nor have I observed bem in those Sermons that have contained the largest Catalogues of the Sins of our Age and Nation. 'Twere dangerous to speak of them as sins, for fear who should be found guilty. But my business at present is not with these, but the other, WITCHCRAFT, which I am sure was Sin of elder times; and how comes it about that our Age, which so much out-does them in all other kinds of wickedness. hould be wholly innocent in this? That there MAY be WITCHES and Apparitions in our days, notwith-Randing the Objections of the modern Sadducee, I believe I have made appear in the CONSIDERATION following; in which I did not primarily intend direct Proof. but DEFENCE, as the Title of the first Edition, which is restor'd in these later mention'd.

And if it should be objected, That I have for the most part used only supposals and conjectural things in the vindication of the common belief, and speak with no pointblank affurance in my particular Answers, as I do in the general Conclusion; I need only say, That the Proposition I defend is matter of fact, which the dis-believers impugn by alledging that it cannot be, or it is not likely: In return to which, if I hew how those things may be, and probably, notwithstanding their allegations, though I say not downright that they are in the particular way I offer, yet 'tis enough for the design of Defence, though not for that of Proof: for when one faith a thing cannot be, and I tell him how possibly it may, though I hit not the just manner of it, I yet defeat the Objection against it, and make way for the evidence of the thing de Facto; which now I have added from the Divine Oracles, and two Modern Relations that are clear and unexceptionable.

I have no humour nor delight in telling Stories, and do not publish these for the gratification of those that have; but I record them 4s Arguments for the confirmation of a Truth which hath indeed been attested by multitudes of the like Evidences in all places and times. But things remote, or long past, are either not believed, or forgotten: whereas these

being fresh and near, and attended with all the circumstan.
ces of credibility, it may be expected they should have the

more success upon the obstinacy of Unbelievers.

But after all this, I must confess, there is one Argument against me, which is not to be dealt with, viz. a mighty confidence grounded upon nothing, that swaggers, and huffs, and swears there are no Mitches. For such Philofophers as these, let them enjoy the Opinion of their own Superlative Judgments, and enter me in the first rank of Fools for crediting my Senses, and those of all the World, before their fworn Dictates. If they will believe in Scott, Hobbes, and Osborne, and think them more infallible than the Sacred Oracles, the History of all Ages, and the full experience of our own, who can help it? They must not be contradicted, and they are resolved not to be perswaded. For this fort of men, I never go about to convince them of any thing. If I can avoid it, I throw nothing before them, left they should turn again, and rend me. Their Opinions came into their Heads by chance, when their little reasons had no notice of their entrance; and they must be let alone to go out again of themselves, the Same way they entred. Therefore not to make much noise to disturb these infallible Huffers (and they cannot hear a little for their own) I foftly step by them, leaving only this whilper behind me; That though their worshipful ignorance and sottishness can relish nothing of a Discourse that doth not minister to Sensuality and Unbelief, yet my CONSIDER ATIONS have had the good fortune of a better reception from the brayer and more generous Spirits, than my fondest hopes could have expetted; and persons whose good thoughts I have reason to value, have affured me that their kindness to my Book hath improved upon second and more careful perusal: which I mention for this purpose, that those that need my Remarques and cannot feel them in a running reading, may please to turn their eyes back, and deliberately think over what I have offered; from which course I dare promise them more satisfaction than from their hafte.

Bath, June 8. 1668.

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### CONSIDERATIONS

ABOUT

# Witchcraft.

In a LETTER to

ROBERT HUNT, Efq.

#### SECT. I.

SIR,

HE frequent and late dealings you have had in the Examination of Witches, and the regards of one that hath a very particular honour for you, have brought you the trouble of some CONSIDERATIONS on the Subject. And though what I have to say, be but the unaccurate product of a little leisure; yet I hope it may afford you some, not unreasonable, Accounts of the odd Phanomena of Witchcraft and Fascination, and contribute to the DEFENCE of the Truth, and Certainty of matters, which you know by Experiments that could not deceive, in spite of the petty exceptions of those that are resolved to believe nothing in affairs of this nature.

And if any thing were to be much admired in an Age

of Wonders, not only of Nature, (which is a constant Prodigy) but of Men and Manners; it would be to me matter of astonishment, that Men, otherwise witty and ingenious, are fallen into the conceit that there is no fuch thing as a Witch or Apparition, but that these are the creatures of Melancholy and Superstition, foster'd by ignorance and design; which comparing the considence of their disbelief with the evidence of the things denied, and the weakness of their grounds, would almost suggest that themselves are an Argument of what they deny; and that fo confident an opinion could not be held upon fuch inducements, but by some kind of Witchcraft and Fascina. tion in the Fancy. And perhaps that evil Spirit whose influences they will not allow in actions ascribed to such Causes, hath a greater hand and interest in their Proposition than they are aware of. For that fubtile Enemy of Mankind (fince Providence will not permit him to mifchief us without our own concurrence) attempts that by stratagem and artifice, which he could never effect by open ways of acting; and the fuccess of all wiles depending upon their secrecy and concealment, his influence is never more dangerous than when his agency is least suspected. In order therefore to the carrying on the dark and hidden designs he manageth against our happiness and our Souls, he cannot expect to advantage himself more, than by infinuating a belief, That there is no such thing as himself, but that fear and fancy make Devils now, as they did Gods of old. Nor can he ever draw the affent of men to fo dangerous an affertion, while the standing sensible evidences of his existence in his practices, by and upon his instruments, are not discredited and removed.

Tis doubtless therefore the interest of this Agent of darkness to have the World believe, that the notion they have of him is but a phantôme and conceit; and in order thereunto, that the stories of Witches, Apparitions, and indeed every thing that brings tidings of another World, are but melancholick Dreams, and pious Romances. And when men are arrived thus far to think there are no dia-

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bolical contracts or Apparitions, their belief that there are such Spirits rests only upon their Faith and Reverent: to the Divine Oracles, which we have little reason to apprehend fo great in fuch Affertors as to command much from their affent; especially in such things in which they have corrupt interests against their evidence. that he that thinks there is no Witch, believes a Devil gratis, or at least upon inducements, which he is like to find himself disposed to deny when he pleaseth. when men are arrived to this degree of diffidence and infidelity, we are beholden to them if they believe either Angel, or Spirit, Resurrection of the Body, or Immortality of Souls. These things hang together in a Chain of connexion, at least in these mens Hypothesis; and 'tis but an happy chance if he that hath lost one link holds another. So that the vitals of Religion being so much interessed in this subject, it will not be unnecessary employment par-

ticularly to difcourse it.

And in order to the proof that there have been, and are, unlawful Confederacies with evil Spirits, by vertue of which the hellish accomplices perform things above their natural powers: I must premise, that this being matter of fatt, is only capable of the evidence of authority and sense; and by both these the being of Witches and diabolical Contracts is most abundantly confirm'd. All Histories are full of the exploits of those Instruments of darkness; and the testimony of all ages, not only of the rude and barbarous, but of the most civiliz'd and polish'd World, brings tidings of their strange performances. We have the attestation of thousands of Eye and Ear-witnesses, and those not of the easily-deceivable vulgar only, but of wife and grave difcerners; and that, when no interest could oblige them to agree together in a common Lye, I fay, we have the light of all these circumstances to confirm us in the belief of things done by persons of despicable power and knowledge, beyond the reach of Art and ordinary Nature. Standing publick Records have been kept of these well-attested Relations, and Epocha's

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made of those unwonted events. Laws in many Nations have been enacted against those vile practices; those among the Jews and our own are notorious; fuch cases have been often determined near us, by wise and reverend Judges, upon clear and convictive Evidence: and thousands in our own Nation have suffered death for their vile Compacts with Apostate Spirits. All these I might largely prove in their particular instances, but that cis not needful, since those that deny the being of Witches, do it not out of ignorance of these heads of Argument, of which probably they have heard a thousand times; but from an apprehension that such a belief is absurd, and the things impossible. And upon these presumptions they contemn all demonstrations of this nature, and are hardned against conviction. And I think, those that can believe all Histories are Romances; That all the wifer world have agreed together to juggle mankind into a common belief of ungrounded fables; That the found senses of multitudes together may deceive them, and Laws are built upon Chimera's; That the gravest and wisest Judges have been Murderers, and the sagest persons Fools, or designing Impostors: I say, those that can believe this heap of absurdities, are either more credulous than those whose credulity they reprehend; or else have some extraordinary evidence of their perswasion, viz. That 'tis absurd and impossible there should be a Witch or Apparition. And I am confident, were those little appearances remov'd which men have form'd in their fancies against the belief of fuch things, their own evidence would make its way to mens affent, without any more arguments than what they know already to enforce it. There is nothing then necessary to be done, in order to the establishing the belief I would reconcile to mens minds, but to endeavour the removal of those prejudices they have received against it: the chief of which I shall particularly deal with. And I begin with that bold Affertion, That

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#### SECT. II.

I.

(I.) THE NOTION of a Spirit is impossible and contradictious, and consequently so is that of Witches, the belief of which is founded on that Do-Arine.

TO WHICH OBJECTION I Answer, (1.) If the notion of a Spirit be absurd as is pretended, that of a GOD and a SOUL distinct from matter, and immortal, are likewise absurdities. And then, that the World was jumbled into this elegant and orderly Fabrick by chance; and that our Souls are only parts of matter that came together we know not whence nor how, and shall again shortly be diffolv'd into those loose Atoms that compound them; That all our conceptions are but the thrusting of one part of matter against another; and the Idea's of our minds mere blind and casual motions. These, and a thousand more the grossest impossibilities and absurdities (consequents of this Proposition, That the notion of a Spirit is absurd) will be sad certainties and demonstrations. And with fuch Affertors I would cease to discourse about Witches and Apparitions, and address my self to obtain their affent to Truths infinitely more facred.

And yet (2) though it should be granted them, that a substance immaterial is as much a contradiction as they can fancy; yet why should they not believe, that the Air and all the Regions above us, may have their invisible intellectual Agents, of Nature like unto our Souls, be that what it will, and some of them at least as much degenerate as the vilest and most mischievous among men? This Hypothesis will be enough to secure the possibility of Witches and Apparitions. And that all the upper Stories of the Universe are furnished with Inhabitants, 'tis insinitely reasonable to conclude, from the analogy of Na-

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ture; fince we fee there is nothing fo contemptible and vile in the World we reside in, but hath its living Creatures that dwell upon it; the Earth, the Water, the inferiour Air, the bodies of Animals, the flesh, the skin, the entrails; the leaves, the roots, the stalks of Vegetables; yea, and all kind of Minerals in the Subterraneous Regions. I say, all these have their proper Inhabitants; yea, I suppose this rule may hold in all distinct kinds of Bodies in the World. That they have their peculiar Animals, The certainty of which, I believe the improvement of microscopical Observations will discover. From whence 1 infer, That fince this little Spot is so thickly peopled in every Atome of it, 'tis weakness to think that all the vast spaces above, and hollows under ground, are desert and uninhabited. And if both the superiour and lower Continents of the Universe have their Inhabitants also, 'tis exceedingly improbable, arguing from the same analogy, that they are all of the meer sensible nature, but that they are at least some of the Rational and Intellectual Orders. Which supposed, there is good foundation for the belief of Witches and Apparitions, though the notion of a Spirit should prove as a' furd, and unphilosophical, as I judge the denial of it. And so this first Objection comes to nothing. I descend then to the second Prejudice, which may be thus formed in behalf of the Objectors.

#### SECT. III.

II.

(II.) THERE ARE Actions in most of those Relations as ascribed to Witches, which are ridiculous and impossible in the nature of things; such are (1) Their signing out of Windows, after they have anointed themselves, to remote places. (2) Their transformation into Cats, Hares, and other Creatures. (3) Their feeling all the hurts in their own bodies which they have received in those.

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ftc Re (4) Their raising Tempests, by muttering some nonsensical words, or performing ceremonies alike impertinent as ridiculous. And (5) their being suck'd in a certain private place of their bodies by a Familiar. These are presumed to be actions inconsistent with the nature of Spirits, and above the powers of those poor and miserable Agents. And therefore the Objection supposeth them performed only by the Fancy; and that the whole mystery of Witchcrast is but an illusion of crasse imagination.

To this aggregate Objection I return, (1) In the general, The more abfurd and unaccountable these actions feem, the greater confirmations are they to me of the truth of those Relations, and the reality of what the Objectors would destroy. For these circumstances being exceeding unlikely, judging by the measures of common belief, 'tis the greater probability they are not fiftitious: For the contrivers of Fictions use to form them as near as they can conformably to the most unsuspected realities, endeavouring to make them look as like truth as is possible in the main supposals, though withal they make them strange in the circumstance. None but a Fool or a Madman would relate, with a purpose of having it believed, that he faw in Ireland Men with hoofs on their heads, and eyes in their breasts, or if any should be so ridiculously vain, as to be ferious in such an incredible Romance, it cannot be supposed that all Travellers that come into those parts after him should tell the same story. There is a large field in fiction; and if all those Relations were arbitrary compositions, doubtless the first Romancers would have framed them more agreeable to the common doctrine of Spirits; at least, after these supposed absurdities had been a thousand times laugh'd at, people by this time would have learn'd to correct those obnoxious extravagancies; and though they have not yet more veracity than the Ages of Ignorance and Superstition, yet one would expect they should have got more cumning. This suppos'd impossibility then of these per-E 4 formances, formances, feems to me a probable argument that they are not wilful and defigned Forgeries. And if they are Fancies, 'tis fomewhat strange, that Imagination, which is the most various thing in all the world, should infinitely

repeat the same conceit in all times and places.

But again (2) the strange Actions related of Witches, and prefumed impossible, are not ascribed to their own powers; but to the Agency of those wicked Confederates they imploy. And to affirm, that those evil spirits cannot do that which we conceit impossible, is boldly to stint the powers of Creatures, whose natures and faculties we know not; and to measure the world of Spirits by the parrow rules of our own impotent beings. We see among our selves the performances of some out-go the conceits and possibilities of others; and we know many things may be done by the Mathematicks and Mechanick Artifice, which common heads think impossible to be effected by the honest ways of Art and Nature. And doubtless, the subtilties and powers of those mischievous Fiends, are as much beyond the reach and activities of the most knowing Agents among us, as theirs are beyond the wit and ability of the most rustick and illiterate. So that the utmost that any mans reason in the world can amount to in this particular, is only this, That he cannot conceive how fuch things can be performed; which only argues the weakness and imperfection of our knowledge and apprehensions, not the impossibility of those performances: and we can no more from hence form an Argument against them, than against the most ordinary effects in Nature. We cannot conceive how the Fætus is form'd in the Womb, nor as much as how a Plant springs from the Earth we tread on; we know not how our Souls move the Body, nor how these distant and extream natures are unized; as I have abundantly shewn in my SCEPSIS SCIENTIFICA. And if we are ignorant of the most obvious things about us, and the most considerable within our felves, 'tis then no wonder that we know not the constitution and powers of the Creatures, to whom

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we are such strangers. Briefly then, matters of fast well proved ought not to be denied, because we cannot conceive how they can be performed. Nor is it a reasonable method of inference, first to presume the thing impossible, and thence to conclude, that the fast cannot be proved. On the contrary, we should judge of the astion by the evidence, and not the evidence by the measures of our fancies about the astion. This is proudly to exalt our own opinions above the clearest testimonies and most sensible demonstrations of fast: and so to give the Lye to all Mankind, rather than distrust the conceits of our bold

imaginations. But yet further,

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(3) I think there is nothing in the instances mention'd, but what may as well be accounted for by the Rules of Reason and Philosophy, as the ordinary affairs of Nature. For in refolving natural Phanomena, we can only assign the probable causes, shewing how things may be, not prefuming how they are. And in the particulars under our Examen, we may give an account how 'tis possible, and not unlikely, that fuch things (though somewhat varying from the common road of Nature) may be acted. And if our narrow and contracted minds can furnish us with apprehensions of the way and manner of such performances, though perhaps not the true ones, 'tis an argument that fuch things may be effected by creatures whose powers and knowledge are so vastly exceeding ours. I shall endeavour therefore briefly to suggest fome things that may render the possibility of these performances conceivable, in order to the removal of this Objection, that they are contradictions and impossible.

for the FIRST then, That the confederate Spirit should transport the Witch through the Air to the place of general Rendezvous, there is no difficulty in conceiving it; and if that be true which great Philosophers affirm, concerning the real separability of the Soul from the Body without death, there is yet less; for then 'tis easie to apprehend, that the Soul having left its gross and sluggish bady behind it, and being cloath'd only

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with its immediate vehicle of Air, or more subtile matter, may be quickly conducted to any place it would be at by those officious Spirits that attend it. And though I adventure to affirm nothing concerning the truth and certainty of this Supposition, yet I must needs say, it doth not feem to me unreasonable. And our experience of Apoplexies, Epilepsies, Ecstasies, and the strange things men report to have seen during those Deliquiums, look favourably upon this conjecture; which feems to me to contradict no principle of Reason or Philosophy; fince Death consists not so much in the actual separation of Soul and Body, as in the indisposition and unfitness of the Body for vital union, as an excellent Philosopher hath made good. On which Hypothesis, the Witches anointing her felf before she takes her flight, may perhaps serve to keep the Body tenantable, and in fit disposition to receive the Spirit at its return. These things, I say, we may conceive, though I affirm nothing about them; and there is not any thing in fuch conceptions but what hath been own'd by men of worth and name, and may feem fair and accountable enough to those who judge not altogether by the measures of the populace and customary opinion. And there's a faying of the great Apostle that feems to countenance this Platonick notion; what is the meaning else of that expression, [Whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell ] except the Soul may be feparated from the Body without death? which if it be granted possible, 'tis sufficient for my purpose.

(2) The Transformations of Witches into the shapes of other Animals, upon the same supposal is very conceivable, since then it is easie enough to imagine, that the power of imagination may form those passive and pliable vehicles into those shapes, with more ease than the fancy of the Mother can the stubborn matter of the Fætus in the Womb, as we see it frequently doth in the instances that occur of Signatures and monstrous Singularities; and perhaps sometimes the confederate Spirit puts tricks upon the seases of the Spectators, and those shapes are only illusions.

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But then (3) when they feel the hurts in their gross bodies, that they receive in their airy vehicles, they must be supposed to have been really present, at least in these latter; and 'tis no more difficult to apprehend how the hurts of those should be translated upon their other bodies. than how diseases should be inflicted by the imagination, or how the fancy of the Mother should wound the Fatus. as several credible relations do attest.

And (4) for their raising Storms and Tempests, They do it not, to be fure, by their own, but by the power of the Prince of the Air, their Friend and Allie; and the Ceremonies that are enjoyn'd them are doubtless nothing else but entertainments for their imaginations, and are likely defign'd to perswade them, that they do these strange

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And (lastly) for their being suck'd by the Familiar, I fay (1) we know so little of the nature of Damons and Spirits, that 'tis no wonder we cannot certainly divine the reason of so strange an action. And yet (2) we may conjecture at some things that may render it less improbable. For some have thought that the Genii (whom both the Platonical and Christian Antiquity thought embodied) are recreated by the reeks and vapours of humane blood, and the spirits that proceed from them: Which supposal (if we grant them bodies) is not unlikely, every thing being refresh'd and nourish'd by its like. And that they are not perfectly abstract from all body and matter, besides the reverence we owe to the wifest antiquity, there are several considerable Arguments I could alledge to render it exceeding probable. Which things supposed, the Devil's sucking the Sorceress is no great wonder, nor difficult to be accounted Or perhaps (3) this may be only a diabolical Sacrament and Ceremony to confirm the hellish Covenant. To which I add, (4) That which to me feems most probable, viz. That the Familiar doth not only suck the Witch, but in the action infuseth some poysonous ferment into her, which gives her Imaginations and Spirits a magical

magical tintture, whereby they become mischievously in fluential; and the word venefica intimates some suc matter. Now that the imagination hath a mighty power in operation, is feen in the just now mention'd Signature and Difeales that it causeth; and that the fancy is mod fied by the qualities of the blood and spirits, is too evi dent to need proof. Which things supposed, 'tis plain to conceive that the evil spirit having breath'd some vik vapour into the body of the Witch, it may taint her blood and spirits with a noxious quality, by which her infester imagination, heightned by melancholy and this work cause, may do much hurt upon bodies that are impress. ble by fuch influences. And 'tis very likely that this ferment disposeth the imagination of the Sorceres to cause the mentioned apageria, or separation of the Soul from the Body, and may perhaps keep the Body in fit temper for its re-entry; as also it may facilitate transformation, which, it may be, could not be effected by ordinary and unassisted imagination.

Thus we see, 'tis not so desperate to form an apprehension of the manner of these odd performances; and though they are not done the way I have describ'd, yet what I have said may help us to a conceit of the possibility, which sufficeth for my purpose. And though the Hypothesis I have gone upon will seem as unlikely to some, as the things they attempt to explain are to others; yet I must desire their leave to suggest, that most things seem improbable (especially to the conceited and opinionative) at first proposal: and many great truths are strange and odd, till custom and acquaintance have reconciled them to our fancies. And I'le presume to add on this occasion, (though I love not to be consident in affirming) that there is none of the Platonical supposals I have used, but what I could make appear to be fair and reasonable, to

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### SECT. IV.

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BUT (III.) I come to another prejudice against the being of Witches, which is, That 'tis very improbable that the Devil, who is a wise and mighty Spirit, should be at the beck of a poor Hag, and have so little to do, as to attend the Errands and impotent Lusts of a silly Old Woman.

O which I might answer, (1) That 'tis much more improbable that all the world should be deceiv'd in matters of fact, and circumstances of the clearest evidence and conviction; than that the Devil, who is wicked, should be also unwife; and that he that perswades all his Subjects and accomplices out of their Wits, should himfelf act like his own Temptations and Perswasions. In brief, there is nothing more strange in this Objection, than that wickedness is baleness and servility; and that the Devil is at leisure to serve those, he is at leisure to tempt, and industrious to ruine. And again, (2) I see no necessity to believe that the Devil is always the Witches Confederate; but perhaps it may fitly be considered, whether the Familiar be not some departed humane Spirit, forfaken of God and goodness, and swallowed up by the unsatiable desire of mischief and revenge, which possibly by the Laws and capacity of its state it cannot execute immediately. And why we should presume that the Devil should have the liberty of wandring up and down the Earth and Air, when he is faid to be held in the Chains of darkness; and yet that the separated Souls of the wicked, of whom no fuch thing is affirm'd in any /acred Record, should be thought so imprison'd, that they cannot possibly wag from the place of their confinement, I know no fliadow of conjecture. This conceit I'm confident hath prejudic'd many against the belief of Witches

and Apparitions; they not being able to conceive that the Devil should be so ludicrous as appearing spirits are fometimes reported to be in their frolicks; and they presume, that souls departed never revisit the free and open Regions; which confidence, I know nothing to justifie: For fince good men in their state of separation are faid to be isa year, why the micked may not be fup. posed to be irolaluoves in the worst sense of the word. I know nothing to help me to imagine. And if it be fupposed that the Imps of Witches are sometimes wicked spirits of our own kind and nature, and possibly the same that have been Sorcerers and Witches in this life: This supposal may give a fairer and more probable account of many of the actions of Sorcery and Witchcraft, than the other Hypothesis, that they are always Devils. And to this conjecture I'le adventure to subjoyn another, which also hath its probability, viz. (3) That 'tis not imposfible but the Familiars of Witches are a vile kind of fpirits, of a very inferior Constitution and Nature, and none of those that were once of the highest Hierarchy, now degenerated into the spirits we call Devils. And for my part I must confess, that I think the common division of spirits much too general; conceiving it likely there may be as great a variety of Intellectual Creatures in the invisible world, as there is of Animals in the visible: and that all the superiour, yea, and inferior Regions, have their several kinds of spirits differing in their natural perfections, as well as in the kinds and degrees of their depravities; which being supposed, 'tis very probable that those of the basest and meanest Orders are they, who submit to the mention'd servilities. And thus the sagess and grandeur of the Prince of darkness need not be brought into question.

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### SECT. V.

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IV.

BUT (IV) the opinion of Witches seems to some to accuse Providence, and to suggest that it hath exposed Innocents to the fury and malice of revengesul Fiends; yea, and supposeth those most obnoxious, for whom we might most reasonably expect a more special tutelary care and protection; most of the cruel practices of those presum'd Instruments of Hell, being upon Children, who as they least deserve to be deserted by that Providence that superintends all things, so they most need its guardian instuence.

TO this fo specious an Objection I have these things to answer.

(1) Providence is an unfathomable Depth; and if we should not believe the Phanomena of our senses, before we can reconcile them to our notions of Providence, we must be groffer Scepticks than ever yet were extant. The miseries of the present life, the unequal distributions of good and evil, the ignorance and barbarity of the greatest part of Mankind, the fatal disadvantages we are all under, and the bazard we run of being eternally miserable and undone; these, I say, are things that can hardly be made confisent with that Wisdom and Goodness that we are fure hath made and mingled it felf with all things. And yet we believe there is a beauty and harmony, and goodness in that Providence, though we cannot unriddle it in particular instances; nor, by reason of our ignorance and imperfection, clear it from contradicting appearances; and confequently, we ought not deny the being of Witches and Apparitions, because they will create us some difficulties in our notions of Providence. But to come more close, (2) Those that believe that Infants are Heirs of Hell, and Children of the Devil as foon as they are disclosed to the World, cannot certainly offer fuch

fuch an Objection; for what is a little trifling pain of a moment, to those eternal Tortures, to which, if they die as foon as they are born, according to the Tenour of this Doctrine, they are everlaftingly exposed? But however the case stands as to that, 'tis certain, (3) That Providence hath not secured them from other violences they are obnoxious to, from cruelty and accident; and vet we accuse It not when a whole Townful of Innocents fall a Victim to the rage and ferity of barbarous Executioners in Wars and Massacres. To which I add (4) That 'tis likely the mischief is not so often done by the evil spirit immediately, but by the malignant influences of the Sorceres, whose power of hurting consists in the forementioned ferment, which is infused into her by the Familiar. So that I am apt to think there may be a power of real fascination in the Witches eyes and imagination, by which for the most part she acts upon tender Nescio quis teneros oculus ---- For the pestilential spirits being darted by a spightful and vigorous imagination from the eye, and meeting with those that are weak and passive in the bodies which they enter, will not fail to infect them with a noxious quality that makes dangerous and strange alterations in the person invaded by this poisonous influence: which way of acting by subtile and invisible instruments, is ordinary and familiar in all natural efficiencies. And 'tis now past question, that na-. ture for the most part acts by subtile streams and aporrhea's of minute particles, which pass from one body to another. Or however that be, this kind of agency is as conceivable as any one of those qualities ignorance hath cal'd Sympathy and Antipathy, the reality of which we doubt not, though the manner of action be unknown. thing I speak of is as easie to be apprehended, as how infection should pass in certain tenuious streams through the Air from one House to another; or, as how the biting of a mad Dog should fill all the Blood and Spirits with a venomous and malign ferment; the application of the vertue doing the same in our case, as that of contact doth in

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in this. Yea, some kinds of fascination are perform'd in this groffer and more fenfible way, as by striking, giving Apples, and the like, by which the contagious quality may be transmitted, as we see Diseases often are by the touch. Now in this way of conjecture a good account may be given why Witches are most powerful upon Children and timorous persons, viz. because their foirits and imaginations being weak and passive, are not able to refift the fatal invasion; whereas men of bold minds, who have plenty of strong and vigorous spirits, are secure from the contagion; as in pestilential Airs clean bodies are not so liable to infection as other tempers. Thus then we see 'tis likely enough, that very often the Sorceress her self doth the mischief; and we know, de facto, that Providence doth not always secure us from one anothers injuries: And yet I must confess, that many times also the evil spirit is the mischievous Agent; though this confession draw on me another Objection, which I next propose.

# SECT. VI.

V.

(V.) THE N it may be said, that if wicked spirits can hurt us by the direction, and at the desire of a Witch, one would think they should have the same power to do us injury without instigation or compact; and if this be granted, 'tis a wonder that we are not always annoy'd and insested by them. To which

RETURN, (1) That the Laws, Liberties, and Restraints of the Inhabitants of the other world are to us utterly unknown; and this way we can only argue our selves into confessions of our ignorance, which every man must acknowledge that is not as immodest as ignorant. It must be granted by all that own the being,

power, and malice of evil Spirits, that the fecurity we enjoy is wonderful, whether they act by Witches or not; and by what Laws they are kept from making us a prey, to speak like Philosophers, we cannot tell: yea, why they should be permitted to tempt and ruine us in our Souls. and restrain'd from touching or hurting us in our Bodies, is a mystery not easily accountable. But yet (2) though we acknowledge their power to vex and torment us in our Bodies also; yet a reason may be given why they are less frequent in this kind of mischief, viz. because their main deligns are levell'd against the interest and happiness of our Souls; which they can best promote, when their actions are most sty and secret; whereas did they ordinarily persecute men in their Bodies, their agency and wicked influence would be discover'd, and make a mighty noise in the world, whereby men would be awaken'd to a fuitable and vigorous opposition, by the use of such means as would engage Providence to rescue them from their rage and cruelties; and at last defeat them in their great purposes of undoing us eternally. Thus we may conceive that the fecurity we enjoy may well enough confift with the power and malice of those evil Spirits; and upon this account we may suppose that Laws of their own may prohibit their unlicens'd injuries, not from any goodness there is in their Constitutions, but in order to the more successful carrying on the projects of the dark Kingdom; as Generals forbid Plunder, not out of love to their Enemies, but in order to their own Success. And hence (3) we may suppose a Law of permission to hurt us at the instance of the Sorceres, may well stand with the policy of Hell, since by gratifying the wicked person, they encourage her in malice and revenge, and promote thereby the main ends of their black confederacy, which are to propagate wickedness, and to ruine us in our eternal interests. And yet (4) 'tis clear to those that believe the History of the Gospel, that wicked Spirits have vexed the bodies of men, without any instigation that we read of; and at this day tis very likely that

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that many of the strange accidents and diseases that befal us, may be the institution of evil spirits, prompted to hurt us only by the delight they take in mischief. So that we cannot argue the improbability of their hurting Children and others by Witches, from our own security and freedom from the effects of their malice, which perhaps we feel in more instances than we are aware of.

### SECT. VII.

#### VI.

BUT (VI) another prejudice against the belief of Witches, is, a presumption upon the enormous force of melancholy and imagination, which without doubt can do wonderful things, and beget strange perswasions; and to these causes some ascribe the presum deffects of Sorcery and Witchcrast. To which I reply briefly; and yet I hope sufficiently,

(1.) That to resolve all the clear circumstances of Fast, which we find in well-attested and confirm'd Relations of this kind, into the power of deceiveable imagination, is to make fancy the greater prodigie; and to suppose, that it can do stranger feats than are believed of any other kind of fascination. And to think that Pins and Nails, for instance, can by the power of imagination be conveyed within the skin; or that imagination should deceive so many as have been witnesses in Objects of fense, in all the circumstances of discovery; this, I fay, is to be infinitely more credulous than the affertors of Sorcery and Demoniack Contracts. the same reason it may be believed, that all the Battles and strange events of the World, which our selves have not seen, are but dreams and fond imaginations, and like those that are fought in the Clouds, when the Brains of the deluded Speltaters are the only Theatre of those fancied F 2

cied transactions. And (2) to deny evidence of act, because their imagination may deceive the Relators, when we have no reason to think so, but a bare presumption that there is no such thing as is related, is quite to destroy the credit of all humane testimony, and to make all men liars in a larger sence than the Prophet concluded in his haste. For not only the melancholick and the fanciful, but the grave and the sober, whose judgments we have no reason to suspect to be tainted by their imaginations, have from their own knowledge and experience made reports of this nature. But to this it will possibly be rejoin'd, and the Reply will be another prejudice against the belief for which I contend, viz.

# SECT. VIII.

### VII.

(VII.) That 'tis a suspitious circumstance that Witch-crast is but a fancy, since the persons that are accused are commonly poor and miserable old Women, who are over-grown with discontent and melancholy, which are very imaginative: and the persons said to be bewitch'd are for the most part Children, or people very weak, who are easily imposed upon, and are apt to receive strong impressions from nothing: whereas were there any such thing really, 'tis not likely, but that the more cunning and subtil desperado's, who might the more successfully carry on the mischievous designs of the dark Kingdom, should be oftner engaged in those black consederacies, and also one would expect effects of the hellish combination upon others than the innocent and ignorant.

To which Objection it might perhaps be enough to return (as hath been above suggested) that nothing can be concluded by this and such like arguings, but that the policy and menages of the Instruments of darkness

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nels are to us altogether unknown, and as much in the dark as their Natures; Mankind being no more acquainted with the reasons and methods of action in the other World, than poor Cottagers and Mechanicks are with the Intrigues of Government, and Reasons of State. Yea peradventure (2) 'tis one of the great designs, as 'tis certainly the Interest of those wicked Agents and Machinators, industriously to hide from us their influences and ways of acting, and to work, as near as is possible, incognito: upon which supposal 'tis easie to conceive a reason, why they most commonly work by, and upon the weak and the ignorant, who can make no cunning observations, or tell credible tales to detect their artifice. Besides (3) 'cis likely-a strong imagination, that cannot be weakn'd or disturb'd by a busic and subtile ratiocination, is a necessary requisite to those wicked performances; and without doubt an heightned and obstinate fancy hath a great influence upon impressible spirits; yea, and as I have conjectur'd before, on the more passive and susceptible bodies. And I am very apt to believe, that there are as real communications and intercourses between our Spirits, as there are between material Agents; which Secret influences, though they are unknown in their nature and ways of acting, yet they are sufficiently felt in their effects: for experience attests, that some by the very majesty and greatness of their Spirits, discovered by nothing but a certain noble air that accompanies them, will bear down others less great and generous, and make them fneak before them; and fome, by I know not what stupifying vertue, will tie up the tongue, and confine the spirits of those who are otherwise brisk and voluble. Which thing supposed, the influences of a Spirit possessed of an active and enormous imagination, may be malign and fatal where they cannot be resisted; especially when they are accompanied by those poysonous reaks that the evil spirit breaths into the Sorgeress, which likely are shot out, and applied by a fancy heightned and prepared by milancholy and discontent. And thus we may conceive why

why the melancholick and envious are used upon such occasions, and for the same reason the ignorant, since knowledge checks and controuls imagination; and those that abound in the imaginative faculties, do not usually exceed in the rational And perhaps (4) the Damon himself useth the imagination of the Witch so qualified for his purpose, even in those actions of mischief which are more properly his; for it is most probable, that Spirits act not upon bodies immediately, and by their naked effence, but by means proportionate, and fuitable instruments that they use; upon which account likely 'tis fo strictly required, that the Sorceres should believe, that so her imagination might be more at the devotion of the mischievous Agent, and for the same reason also Ceremonies are used in Inchantments, viz. for the begetting this diabolical faith, and heightning the fancy to a degree of strength and vigour sufficient to make it a fit instrument for the defign'd performance. Those I think are reasons of likelihood and probability, why the hellish Confederates are mostly the ignorant and the melancholick. To pass then to another prejudice.

# SECT. IX.

#### VIII.

(VIII.) THE frequent impostures that are met with in this kind, beget in some a belief, that all such Relations are Forgeries and Tales; and if we urge the evidence of a story for the belief of Witches or Apparitions, they will produce two as seemingly strong and plausible, which shall conclude in mistake or design; inferring thence, that all others are of the same quality and credit. But such arguers may please to consider,

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(1) THAT a single relation for an Affirmative, sufficiently confirmed and attested, is worth a thousand tales of forgery and imposture, from whence an universal Negative cannot be concluded. So that, though all the Objectors stories be true, and an hundred times as many more such deceptions; yet one relation, wherein no fallacy or fraud could be suspected for our Affirmative, would spoil any Conclusion could be erected on them. And,

(2) It feems to me a belief sufficiently bold and precarious, that all these relations of forgery and mistake should be certain, and not one among all those which attest the Assirmative reality, with circumstances as good as could be expected, or wish'd, should be true; but all fabulous and vain. And they have no reason to object credulity to the assertors of Sorcery and Witchcrast, that can swallow so large a morsel. And I desire such Obje-

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(3) Whether it be fair to infer, That because there are some Cheats and Impostures, that therefore there are no Realities. Indeed frequency of deceit and fallacy will warrant a greater care and caution in examining and scrupulosity and shiness of assent to things wherein fraud hath been prastised, or may in the least degree be suspected: But, to conclude, because that an old Woman's fancy abused her, or some knavish fellows put tricks upon the ignorant and timorous, that therefore whole Assists have been a thousand times deceived in judgments upon matters of fast, and numbers of sober persons have been for sworn in things wherein perjury could not advantage them; I say, such inferences are as void of reason, as they are of charity and good manners.

### SECT. X.

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IX.

BUT (IX.) it may be suggested further, That it cannot be imagin'd what design the Devil should have in making those solemn compacts, since persons of such debauch'd and irreclaimable dispositions as those with whom he is supposed to confederate, are pretty securely his, antecedently to the bargain, and cannot be more so by it, since they cannot put their souls out of possibility of the Divine Grace, but by the Sin that is unpardonable; or if they could so dispose and give away themselves, it will to some seem very unlikely, that a great and mighty spirit should oblige himself to such observances, and keep such ado to secure the Soul of a silly Body, which twere odds but it would be His, though he put himself to no further trouble than that of his ordinary temptations.

O which suggestions? twere enough to say, that? tis fufficient if the thing be well prov'd, though the design be not known. And to argue negatively à fine, is very unconclusive in such matters. The Laws and Affairs of the other World (as hath been intimated) are vastly differing from those of our Regions, and therefore is no wonder we cannot judge of their designs, when we know nothing of their menages, and fo little of The ignorant looker-on can't imagine their natures. what the Limner means by those seemingly rude Lines and scrawls which he intends for the Rudiments of a Pi-Eture: and the Figures of Mathematick operation are nonsence, and dasnes at a venture, to one uninstructed in Mechanicks. We are in the dark to one anothers purposes and intendments; and there are a thousand intrigues in our little matters, which will not presently confess their design even to sagacious inquisitors. And therefore 'tis folly and incogitancy to argue any thing one way or other bther from the designs of a fort of Beings, with whom we so little communicate; and possibly we can take no more aim, or guess at their projects and designments, than the gazing Beasts can do at ours, when they see the Traps and Gins that are laid for them, but understand

nothing what they mean. Thus in general.

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But I attempt fomething more particularly, in order to which I must premise, that the Devil is a name for a Body Politick, in which there are very different Orders and Degrees of Spirits, and perhaps in as much variety of place and state; as among our selves; so that 'tis not one and the same person that makes all the compacts with those abused and seduced Souls, but they are divers, and those 'tis like of the meanest and basest quality in the Kingdom of darkness: which being supposed, I offer this account of the probable design of those wicked Agents, viz. That having none to rule or tyrannize over within the circle of their own nature and government, they affect a proud Empire over us (the defire of Dominion and Authority being largely spread through the whole circumference of degenerated nature, especially among those, whose pride was their original transgression) every one of these then desires to get him Vassals to pay him homage, and to be employ'd like Slaves in the fervices of his Lusts and Appetites; to gratifie which defire, 'tis like enough to be provided and allowed by the constitution of their State and Government, that every wicked Spirit shall have those Souls as his property, and particular servants and attendants, whom he can catch in fuch compacts; as those wild Beafts that we can take in hunting, are by the allowance of the Law our own, and those Slaves that a man hath purchas'd, are his peculiar Goods, and the Vassals of his Will. Or rather those deluding Fiends are like the feducing fellows we call Spirits, who inveigle Children by their false and flattering Promises, and carry them away to the Plantations of America, to be servilely employed there in the works of their profit and advantage. And as those base Agents will

will humour and flatter the simple unwary Youth, till blec they are on Shipboard, and without the reach of those ts, that might rescue them from their hands: In like manner the more mischievous Tempter studies to gratifie, please, and accommodate those he deals with in this d, kind, till death hath lanch'd them into the Deep, and they are past the danger of Prayers, Repentance, and Endeavours; and then He ufeth them as pleaseth Him. This account I think is not unreasonable, and 'twill fully anfwer the Objection. For though the matter be not as I have conjectur'd, yet 'twill fuggest how it may be conceiv'd; which nulls the pretence, That the Design is unconceivable.

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# SECT. XI.

BUT then (X.) we are still liable to be questioned, how it comes about, that those proud and insolent Detigners practife in this kind upon so few, when one would expect, that they should be still trading this way, and every where be driving on the project, which the vileness of men makes so fcisable, and would so much serve the interest of their lufts.

O which, among other things that might be fug-

gested, I return,

(1) That we are never liable to be so betray'd and abused, till by our vile dispositions and tendencies we have forfeited the tutelary care, and overfight of the better Spirits; who, though generally they are our guard and defence against the malice and violence of evil Angels, yet it may well enough be thought, that sometimes they may take their leave of fuch as are swallowed up by Malice, Envy, and desire of Revenge, qualities most contrary to their Life and Nature; and leave them exposed th, till f those mancatifie, n this d EnThis y anot as conin is

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ofed to the invasion and solicitations of those wicked Spits, to whom such hateful Attributes make them very itable. And if there be particular Guardian Angels, 'tis not abfurd to fancy, it may then be well suppod, that no man is obnoxious to those projects and atempts, but only fuch whose vile and mischievous natures ave driven from them their protecting Genius. And atainst this dereliction to the power of evil Spirits, 'tis ikely enough what some affirm, that the Royal Psalmift lirects that Prayer, Psal. LXXI. ix, x. Cast me not off n the time of old age; for sake me not when my strength faileth. For - They that keep my Soul [oun zorovies This Juxlu us, as the LXX. and the Vulgar Latin, Qui custodiunt animam meam] they take counsel together saying, God hath for saken him, persecute him and take him; for there is none to deliver him. But I add (2) That 'tis very probable, that the state wherein they are, will not easily permit palpable intercourses between the bad Genii and Mankind, fince 'tis like enough that their own Laws and Government do not allow their frequent excursions into this World. Or, it may with as great probability be supposed, that 'tis a very hard and painful thing for them, to force their thin and tenuious Bodies into a vifible confistence, and fuch shapes as are necessary for their designs in their correspondencies with Witches. For in this action their Bodies must needs be exceedingly compress'd, which cannot well be without a painful fense. And this is perhaps a reason why there are so few Apparitions, and why appearing Spirits are commonly in such haste to be gone, viz. that they may be deliver'd from the unnatural pressure of their tender vehicles; which I confess holds more, in the apparitions of good than evil Spirits; most Relations of this kind, describing their discoveries of themselves, as very transient, (though for those the holy Scripture records, there may be peculiar reason, why they are not fo) whereas the wicked ones are not altogether fo quick, and hasty in their visits: The reafon of which probably is, the great subtilty and tenuity

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of the Bodies of the former, which will require far greater degrees of compression, and consequently of pain, to make them visible; whereas the latter are more faculent and gross, and so nearer allied to palpable consistencies, and more easily reduceable to appearance and visi-

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bility.

At this turn, Sir, you may perceive that I have again made we of the Platonick Hypothesis, That Spirits are embodied, upon which indeed a great part of my Discourse is grounded: And therefore I hold my felf obliged to a short account of that supposal. It seems then to me very probable, from the nature of Senfe, and Analogy of Nature. For (1) we perceive in our felves, that all Sense is caused and excited by motion made in matter; and when those motions which convey sensible impressions to the Brain, the Seat of Sense, are intercepted, Sense is loft: So that, if we suppose Spirits perfectly to be disjoin'd from all matter, 'tis not conceivable how they can have the fense of any thing; For how material Objetts should any way be perceived, or felt, without vital union with matter, ?tis not possible to imagine. Nor doth it (2) feem suitable to the Analogy of Nature, which useth not to make precipitous leaps from one thing to another, but usually proceeds by orderly steps and gradations: whereas were there no order of Beings between Us, who are so deeply plunged into the groffest matter, and pure unbodied Spirits, ?twere a mighty jump in Nature. Since then the greatest part of the World confifts of the finer portions of matter, and our own Souls are immediately united unto these, 'tis infinitely probable to conjecture, that the nearer Orders of Spirits are vitally joined to such Bodies; and so Nature by degrees ascending still by the more refin'd and subtile matter, gets at last to the pure Noss, or immaterial minds, which the Platonists made the highest Order of created Beings. But of this I have discoursed elsewhere, and have said thus much of it at present, because it will enable me to add another Reason of the unfrequency of Apparitions and Compalls, VIZ. (3) Befar

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(3) Because 'tis very likely, that these Regions are very unsuitable, and disproportion'd to the frame and temper of their Senses and Bodies; so that perhaps, the courser Spirits can no more bear the Air of our World. than Bats and Owls can the brightest Beams of Day. Nor can the pure and better any more endure the noisom steams. and poylonous reeks of this Dunghil Earth, than the deticate can bear a confinement in nasty Dungeons, and the foul squalid Caverns of uncomfortable Darkness. So that 'tis no more wonder, that the better Spirits no oftner appear, than that men are not more frequently in the dark Hollows under ground. Nor is't any more ftrange that evil Spirits fo rarely visit us, than that Fishes do not ordinarily fly in the Air, as 'tis faid one fort of them doth; or that we see not the Batt daily fluttering in the Beams of the Sun. And now by the help of what I have spoken under this Head, I am provided with some things wherewith to disable another Objection, which I thus propose.

# SECT. XII.

XI.

(XI.) If there be such an intercourse between Evil Spirits and the Wicked, How comes it about that there is no correspondence between Good Angels and the Vertuous? since without doubt these are as desirous to propagate the Spirit and Designs of the upper and better World, as those are to promote the Interest of the Kingdom of Darkness.

WHICH way of arguing is still from our Ignorance of the State and Government of the other World, which must be confest, and may, without prejudice to the Proposition I defend. But particularly, I say, (1) That we have ground enough to believe, that good

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good Spirits do interpose in, yea, and govern our Affairs. For that there is a Providence reaching from Heaven to Earth, is generally acknowledged; but that this suppofeth all things to be ordered by the immediate influence, and interposal of the Supream Deity, some think, is not very Philosophical to Suppose; since, if we judge by the Analogy of the natural World, all things we fee are carried on by the Ministery of second Causes, and intermediate Agents. And it doth not feem so magnificent and becoming an apprehension of the Supream Numen, to farley his immediate hand in every trivial Management. But 'tis exceeding likely to conjecture, that much of the Government of us, and our Affairs, is committed to the better Spirits, with a due subordination and subserviency to the Will of the chief Rector of the Univerfe. And 'tis not absurd to believe, that there is a Government runs from highest to lowest, the better and more perfect Orders of Being still ruling the inferiour and less perfect. So that fome one would fancy that perhaps the Angels may manage us, as we do the Creatures that God and Nature have placed under our Empire and Dominion. But however that is, That God rules the lower World by the Ministery of Angels, is very consonant to the sacred Oracles. Thus, Deut. XXXII. 8, 9. When the most High divided the Nations their Inheritance, when he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people, Kal des Budr appiator OEE, according to the number of the Angels of God, as the Septuagint renders it; the Authority of which Translation, is abundantly credited and afferted, by its being quoted in the New Testament, without notice of the Hebrew Text; even there where it differs from it, as Learned men have observed. We know also, that Angels were very familiar with the Patriarchs of old; and Jacob's Ladder is a Mystery, which imports their ministring in the affairs of the Lower World. Thus Origen and others understand that to be spoken by the Presidential Angels, Jerem. Ll. ix. We would have healed BABYLON, but she is not healed: for sake her, and airs.

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let us go. Like the Voice heard in the Temple before the taking of ferusalem by Titus, MelaBairoude ir soute. And before Nebuchadnezzar was fent to learn Wisdom and Religion among the Beafts, He fees a Watcher, according to the 70. an Angel, and an holy One come down from Heaven, Dan. IV. 13. who pronounceth the fad Decree against Him, and calls it the Decree of the Watchers, who very probably were the Guardian Genii of Himself and his Kingdom. And that there are particular Angels that have the special Rule and Government of particular Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, yea and of Persons, I know nothing that can make improbable: The instance is notorious in Daniel, of the Angels of Persia and Gracia, that hindred the other that was engaged for the concerns of Judaa: yea, our Saviour himself tells us, that Children have their Angels; and the Congregation of Disciples supposed that St. Peter had his. Which things if they be granted, the good Spirits have not so little to do with us, and our matters, as is generally believed. And perhaps it would not be abfurd, if we referr'd many of the strange thwarts, and unexpected events, the disappointments and lucky co-incidences that befal us, the unaccountable fortunes and successes that attend some lucky men, and the unhappy fates that dog others that feem born to be miserale; the Fame and Favour that still waits on some without any conceivable motive to allure it, and the general neglect of others more deserving, whose worth is not acknowledg'd; I fay, these, and such like odd things, may with the greatest probability be resolved into the Conduct and Menages of those invisible Supervisors, that preside over, and govern our affairs.

But if they so far concern themselves in our matters, how is it that they appear not to maintain a visible and confest correspondence with some of the better Mortals, who are most fitted for their Communications and their influence? To which I have said some things already, when I accounted for the unfrequency of Apparitions; and I now add what I intend for another return to the main Objection, viz.

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(2) That the apparition of good Spirits is not needful for the Defigns of the better world, whatever fuch may be for the interest of the other. For we have had the Appearance and Cohabitation of the Son of God; we have Moses and the Prophets, and the continued influence of the Spirit, the greatest arguments to strengthen Faith, the most powerful motives to excite our Love, and the noblest encouragements to quicken and raise our Desires and Hopes, any of which are more than the apparition of an Angel; which would indeed be a great gratification of the Animal Life, but 'twould render our Faith less noble and less generous, were it frequently so assisted: Blessed are they that believe, and yet have not feen. Besides which, the good Angels have no fuch ends to profecute, as the gaining any Vallals to ferve them, they being ministring Spirits for our good, and no self designers for a proud and insolent Dominion over us. And it may be perhaps not impertinently added, That they are not always evil Spirits that appear, as is, I know not well upon what grounds, generally imagined; but that the extraordinary detections of Murders, latent Treasures, falsified and unfulfilled Bequests, which are sometimes made by Apparitions, may be the courteous Discoveries of the better and more benign Genii. Yea, 'tis not unlikely, that those warnings that the world sometimes hath of approaching Judgments and Calamities by Prodigies, and fundry odd Phanomena, are the kind Informations of some of the Inhabitants of the upper world. Thus, was Jernfalem forewarned before its facking by Antiochus, by those airy Horsemen that were seen through all the City, for almost forty days together, 2 Mac. V. it, iii. and the other Prodigious Portents that fore-ran its Destruction by Titus, which I mention, because they are notorious instances. And though, for mine own part, I fcorn the ordinary Tales of Prodigies, which proceed from superstitious fears, and unacquaintance with Nature, and have been used to bad purposes by the zealous and the ignorant; Yet I think that the Arguments that are brought by dful |

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by a late very ingenious Author, to conclude against fuch Warnings and Predictions in the whole kind, are thort and inconsequent, and built upon too narrow Hypotheses. For if it be supposed, that there is a sort of Spirits over us, and about us, who can give a probable guess at the more remarkable futurities, I know not why it may not be conjectured, that the kindness they have for us, and the appetite of foretelling strange things, and the putting the world upon expectation, which we find is very grateful to our own natures, may not incline them also to give us some general notice of those uncommon Events which they foresee. And I yet perceive no reason we have to fancy, that whatever is done in this kind, must needs be either immediately from Heaven, or from the Angels, by extraordinary Commission and Appointment. But it feems to me not unreasonable to believe, that those officious Spirits, that oversee our Affairs, perceiving some mighty and sad alterations at hand, in which their Charge is much concerned, cannot chuse, by reason of their affection to us, but give us some seasonable hints of those approaching Calamities; to which also their natural desire to foretel strange things to come, may contribute to incline them And by this Hypothesis, the fairest probabilities and strongest ratiocinations against Prodigies, may be made unferviceable. But this only by the way.

# SECT. XIII.

Desire it may be considered further,

(3) That God himself affords his intimacies and converses to the better Souls, that are prepared for it; which is a priviledge infinitely beyond Angelical correspondence.

I confess the proud and phantastick pretences of many of the conceited Melancholists in this age, to Divine Communion, have prejudiced divers intelligent persons a-

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gainst the belief of any such happy vouchsafement; so that they conclude the Doctrine of immediate Communion with the Deity in this Life to be but an high flown notion of warm imagination, and overluscious self-flattery; and I acknowledge I have my self had thoughts of this nature, supposing Communion with God to be nothing else but the exercise of vertue, and that Peace, and those Comforts

which naturally refult from it.

But I have confidered fince, that God's more near and immediate imparting himself to the Soul that is prepared for that happiness by divine Love, Humility, and Resignation, in the way of a vital touch, and fense, is a thing possible in it felf, and will be a great part of our Heaven. That Glory is begun in Grace, and God is pleased to give some excellent Souls the happy Antepast. That holy men in ancient times have fought and gloried in this enjoyment, and never complain fo forely as when it was with-held, and interrupted. That the expressions of Scripture run infinitely this way, and the best of Modern good men, do from their own experience attest it. That this spiritualizeth Religion, and renders its enjoyments more comfortable and delicious. That it keeps the Soul under a vivid sense of God, and is a grand security against Temptation. That it holds it steady amid the flatteries of a prosperous state, and gives it the most grounded anchorage and support amid the Waves of an adverse condition. That 'tis the noblest encouragement to vertue, and the biggest assurance of an happy Immortality. I fay, I confidered these weighty things, and wondred at the carelesness and prejudice of thoughts that occasion'd my suspecting the reality of so glorious a Priviledge; I saw how little reason there is in denying matters of inward sense, because our selves do not feel them, or cannot form an apprehension of them in our minds. I am convinced that things of gust and relish must be judg'd by the sentient and vital faculties, and not by the noetical exercises of speculative understandings: And upon the whole, I believe infinitely that the Divine Spirit affords its sensible presence, and immediate beatifick Touch

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Touch to some rare Souls, who are divested of carnal self, and mundane pleasures, abstracted from the Body by Prayer and holy Meditation; spiritual in their Desires, and calm in their Affections; devout Lovers of God, and vertue, and tenderly affectionate to all the world; sincere in their aims, and circumspect in their actions; inlarged in their Souls, and clear in their Minds: These I think are the dispositions that are requisite to fit us for Divine Communion; and God transacts not in this near way, but with prepared spirits, who are thus disposed for the manifestation of his presence, and his influence: And such, I believe, he never sails to bless with these happy foretastes of Glory.

But for those that are passionate and conceited, turbulent and notional, confident and immodest, imperious and malicious; That doat upon trifles, and run fiercely in the ways of a Sett, that are lifted up in the apprehension of the glorious prerogatives of themselves and their party, and scorn all the world besides; For such, I say, be their pretensions what they will, to divine Communion, Illapses, and Discoveries, I believe them not; Their fancies abuse them, or they would us. For what communion hath Light with Darkness, or the Spirit of the HOLY ONE with those whose genius and ways are so unlike him? But the other excellent Souls I described, will as certainly be visited by the Divine Presence, and Converse, as the Chrystalline streams are, with the beams of Light, or the fitly prepar'd Earth whose Seed is in it self, will be actuated by the spirit of Nature.

So that there is no reason to object here the want of Angelical Communications, though there were none vouch-fased us, since good men enjoy the Divine, which are infinitely more satisfactory and indearing.

And now I may have leave to proceed to the next Ob-

jection, which may be made to speak thus:

## SECT. XIV.

XII.

(XII.) THE belief of Witches, and the wonderful things they are faid to perform by the help of the Confederate Dæmon, weakens our Faith, and exposesh the World to Infidelity in the great matters of our Religion. For if they by Diabolical assistance, can inflict and cure Diseales, and do things so much beyond the comprehension of our. Philosophy, and activity of common Nature; What assurance can we have, that the Miracles that confirm our Gofpel were not the effects of a Compact of like nature, and that Devils were not cast out by Beelzebub? If evil Spirits can assume Bodies, and render themselves visible in humane likeness; What security can we have of the reality of the Resurrection of Christ? And if, by their help, Witches can enter Chambers invisibly through Key-holes and little unperceived Crannies, and transform themselves at plea-Sure: What Arguments of Divinity are there in our Saviour's shewing himself in the midst of his Disciples, when the Doors were shut, and his Transfiguration in the Mount? Miracles are the great inducements of Belief, and how shall we distinguish a Miracle from a lying Wonder; a Testimony from Heaven, from a Trick of the Angels of Hell; if they can perform things that astonish and confound our Reasons, and are beyond all the Possibilities of Human Nature? This Objection is spiteful and mischievous; but I thus endeavour to dispatch it.

(1) THE Wonders done by Confederacy with wicked Spirits, cannot derive a suspicion upon the undoubted Miracles that were wrought by the Author and Promulgers of our Religion, as if they were performed by Diabolical Compast, since their Spirit, Endeavours, and Designs, were notoriously contrary to all the Tendencies, Aims, and Interests of the Kingdom of Darkness. For, as

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to the Life and Temper of the bleffed and adorable FE-SUS, we know there was an incomparable [weetnefs in his Nature, Humility in his Manners, Calmness in his Temper, Compassion in his Miracles, Modesty in his Expressions, Holiness in all his Actions, Hatred of Vice and Baseness, and Love to all the World; all which are esfentially contrary to the Nature and Constitution of Apoflate Spirits, who abound in Pride and Rancour, Insolence and Rudeness, Tyranny and Baseness, universal Malice, and Hatred of Men. And their Designs are as oppofite, as their Spirit and their Genius. And now, Can the Sun borrow its Light from the bottomles Abyss? Can Heat and Warmth flow in upon the World from the Regions of Snow and Ice? Can Fire freeze, and Water burn? Can Natures, fo infinitely contrary, communicate, and jump in projects that are destructive to each others known Interests? Is there any Balfom in the Cockatrices Egg? or, Can the Spirit of Life flow from the Venome of the Asp? Will the Prince of Darkness Arm that is fretcht out to pluck his U-Surpt Scepter, and his Spoils from him? And will he lend his Legions, to affift the Armies of his Enemy against him? No, these are impossible Supposals; No intelligent Being will industriously and knowingly contribute to the Contradiction of its own Principles, the Defeature of its Purposes, and the Ruine of its own dearest Interests. There is no fear then, that our Faith should receive prejudice from the acknowledgment of the Being of Witches, and power of evil Spirits, fince 'tis not the doing wonderful things that is the only Evidence that the Holy JESUS was from God, and his Doctrine true; but the conjunction of other circumstances, the holiness of his Life, the reasonableness of his Religion, and the excellency of his Designs, added credit to his Works, and Itrengthned the great Conclusion, That he could be no other than the Son of God, and Saviour of the world. But befides, I fay, (2) That fince infinite Wisdom and Goodness rules the

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World, it cannot be conceived, that they should give up the greatest part of men to unavoidable deception. And if evil Angels by their Confederates are permitted to perform such astonishing things, as seem so evidently to carry God's Seal and Power with them, for the confirmation of Falshoods, and gaining credit to Impostors, without any counter-evidence to disabuse the World; Mankind is exposed to sad and fatal delusion. And to say that Providence will suffer us to be deceived in things of the greatest concernment, when we use the best of our care and endeavours to prevent it, is to speak hard things of God; and in effect to affirm, That He hath nothing to do in the Government of the World, or doth not concern himself in the affairs of poor forlorn men. And if the Providence and Goodness of God be not a fecurity unto us against such Deceptions, we cannot be asfured, but that we are always abused by those mischievous Agents, in the Objects of plain sense, and in all the matters of our daily Converles. If ONE that pretends he is immediately fent from God, to overthrow the ancient Fabrick of Established Worship, and to erect a New Religion in His Name, shall be born of a Virgin, and honour'd by a miraculous Star; proclaimed by a Song of feeming Angels of Light, and worshipped by the wife Sages of the World; Revered by those of the greatest austerity, and admired by all for a miraculous Wisdom, beyond his Education and his Years: If he shall feed multitudes with almost nothing, and fast himself beyond all the possibilities of Nature : If he shall be transformed into the appearance of extraordinary Glory, and converse with departed Prophets in their visible Forms: If He shall Cure all Diseases without Physick or Endeavour, and raise the Dead to Life after they have frunk in their Graves: If he shall be honoured by Voices from Heaven, and attract the universal wonder of Princes and People: If He shall allay Tempests with a beck, and cast out Devils with a word: If He shall foretel his own Death particularly, with its Tragical Circumstances, and his Resurrection after it: ive

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ter it: it: If the Veil of the most famous Temple in the World shall be rent, and the Sun darkned at his Funeral: If He shall, within the time foretold, break the bonds of Death, and lift up his Head out of the Grave: If Multitudes of other departed Souls shall arise with Him, to attend at the Solemnity of his Resurrection: If He shall after Death, visibly converse, and eat and drink with divers persons, who could not be deceived in a matter of clear sense, and ascend in Glory in the presence of an astonisht and admiring Multitude: I fay, if fuch a one as this should prove a diabolical Impostor, and Providence should permit him to be fo credited and acknowledged; What possibility were there then for us to be assured, that we are not always deceived? yea, that our very faculties were not given us only to delude and abuse us? And if fo, the next Conclusion is, That there is no God that judgeth in the Earth; and the best, and most likely Hypothesis will be, That the world is given up to the government of the Devil. But if there be a Providence that superviseth us, (as nothing is more certain) doubtless it will never fuffer poor helpless Creatures to be inevitably deceived by the craft and subtilty of their mischievous Enemy, to their undoing; but will without question take such care, that the works wrought by Divine Power for the Confirmation of Divine Truth, shall have such visible Marks and Signatures, if not in their Nature, yet in their Circumstances, Ends, and Designs, as shall discover whence they are, and sufficiently distinguish them from all Impofures and Delusions. And though wicked Spirits may perform some strange things that may excite wonder for a while, yet He hath, and will so provide that they shall be baffled and discredited; as we know it was in the case of Moses and the Agyptian Magicians.

These things I count sufficient to be said to this last, and shrewdest Objection; Though some, I understand, except, that I have made it stronger than the Answer I have applied. That I have urged the argument of unbelievers home, and represented it in its full strength, I suppose

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can be no matter of just reproof: For to triumph over the weakness of a Cause, and to overlook its strength, is the trick of shallow and interessed Disputers, and the worst way to defend a good Cause, or consute a bad one. I have therefore all along urged the most cogent things I could think of, for the interest of the Objectors, because I would not impose upon my Reader or my self; and the stronger I make their premisses, the more shall I weaken their Conclusion, if I answer them; which whether I have done, or not, I refer my self to the judgments of the ingenious and considerate; from whom I should be very glad to be informed in what particular points my Discourse is defective. General Charges are no proofs, nor are they easily capable of an answer. Yet to the mention'd exception I say,

That the strength of the Objection is not my fault, for the reasons alledg'd; and for the supposed incompetency of my return, I propose, that if the circumstances of the Persons, Ends, and Issues be the best Notes of Distinction between true Miracles and Forgeries, Divine and Diabolical ones, I have then faid enough to fecure the Miracles of our Saviour, and the Holy men of Ancient times. But If thefe Objectors think, they can give us any better, or more infallible Criteria, I desire them to weigh what I have offer'd about Miracles in some of the following Leaves, before they enter that thought among their certainties. And if their other marks of difference will hold, notwithstanding those allegations, I suppose the inquisitive believing world would be glad to know them; and I shall have particular obligations to the discoverer, for the strength with which he will thereby affist my Answer.

But till I see that, I can say nothing stronger; or if I saw it, which I shall not in haste expect, I should not be convinced but that the circumstances of difference which I have noted, are abundantly sufficient to disarm the Objetion; and to shew, that though Apparitions, Witchcraft, and diabolical Wonders are admitted: yet none of these can fasten any surre; or ground of dangerous doubt upon

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the miraculous performances of the H. JESUS and his Apostles. If the dissatisfied can shew it, I shall yield my self an humble Proselyte to their Reasons: but till I know them, the general suggestion will not convince me.

Now, besides what I have directly said to the main Objection, I have this to add to the Objectors, That I could wish they would take care of such Suggestions; which, if they overthrow not the Opinion they oppose, will dangerously affront the Religion they would seem to acknowledge. For he that saith, That if there are WITCHES, there is no way to prove that Christ Jesus was not a Magician, and diabolical Impostor, puts a deadly Weapon into the hands of the Insidel, and is himself next door to the SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST: of which, in order to the perswading greater tenderness and caution in such matters, I give this short account.

## SECT. XV.

THE Sin against the Holy Ghost is said to be Unpardonable: by which sad Attribute, and the discourse of our Saviour, Matth. XII. from the 22, to the 33 verse, we may understand its Nature. In order to which we consider, That since the Mercies of God, and the Merits of his Son, are infinite, there is nothing can make a Sin unpardonable, but what makes it incurable; and there is no Sin but what is curable by a ftrong Faith, and a vigorous Endeavour: For all things are possible to him that believeth. So that, That which makes a Sin incurable, must be somewhat that makes Faith impossible, and obstructs all means of Conviction. In order to the finding which, we must consider the ways and methods the Divine Goodness hath taken, for the begetting Faith, and cure of Infidelity: which it attempted, first, by the Prophets, and holy men of ancient times, who, by the excellency of their Doctrine, the greatness of their Miracles.

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cles, and the bolinefs of their Lives, endeavoured the conviction and reformation of a stubborn and unbelieveing World. But though Few believed their Report, and men would not be prevail'd on by what they did, or what they faid; yet their Infidelity was not hitherto incurable, because further means were provided in the miniftry of John the Baptist, whose Life was more severe, whose Doctrines were more plain, pressing, and particular; and therefore 'twas possible that He might have succeeded. Yea, and where He failed, and could not open mens hearts and their eyes, the effect was still in possibility, and it might be expected from Him that came after, to whom the Prophets and John were but the Twilight and the Dawn. And though His miraculous Birth, the Song of Angels, the Journey of the Wife Men of the East, and the correspondence of Prophecies, with the Circumstances of the first appearance of the wonderful Infant: I fay, though these had not been taken notice of, yet was there a further provision made for the cure of Infidelity, in his aftonishing Wisdom, and most excellent Do-Etrines; For, He spake as never man did. And when These were despised and neglected, yet there were other means towards Conviction, and cure of Unbelief, in those mighty works that bore Testimony of Him, and wore the evident marks of Divine Power in their Foreheads. But when after all, These clear and unquestionable Miracles which were wrought by the Spirit of God, and had eminently his Superscription on them, shall be ascribed to the Agency of evil Spirits, and Diabolical Compact, as they were by the malicious and spightful Pharisees in the periods above-mentioned; when those great and last Testimonies against Infidelity, shall be said to be but the tricks of Sorcery, and Complotment with Hellish Confederates, This is Blasphemy in the highest, against the Power and Spirit of God, and Such as cuts off all means of Convi-Etion, and puts the Unbeliever beyond all possibilities of Cure. For Miracles are God's Seal, and the great and last evidence of the truth of any Doctrine. And though, while while these are only disbelieved as to the Fast, there remains a possibility of perswasion; yet, when the Fast shall be acknowledg'd, but the Power blasphemed, and the effects of the adorable Spirit maliciously imputed to the Devils; such a Blasphemy, such an Insidelity is incurable, and consequently unpardonable. I say, in sum, the Sin against the Holy Ghost seems to be a malicious imputation of the Miracles wrought by the Spirit of God in our Saviour, to Satanical Confederacy, and the power of Apostate Spirits; Than which nothing is more blasphemous, and nothing is more like to provoke the Holy Spirit that is so abused, to an Eternal Derelistion of so vile and so incurable an Unbeliever.

This account, as 'tis clear and reasonable in it self, so it is plainly lodg'd in the mention'd Discourse of our Saviour. And most of those that speak other things about it, seem to me to talk at random, and perfectly without Book. But to leave them to the sondness of their own conceits, I think it now time to draw up to

a Conclusion of the whole.

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# SECT. XVI.

Papers, which my respect and your concernment in the subject have made yours, to remove the main prejudices I could think of, against the existence of Witches and Apparitions: And I'm sure I have suggested much more against what I defend, than ever I heard or saw in any that opposed it; whose Discourses for the most part, have seemed to me inspired by a losty scorn of common belief, and some trivial Notions of Vulgar Philosophy. And in despising the common Faith about matters of fast, and sondly adhering to it in things of Speculation, they very grossy and absurdly mistake: For in things of Fast, the People are as much to be believed, as the most subtile Philosophers and Speculators; since here, Sense is the Judge.

But in matters of Notions and Theory, they are not at all to be heeded, because Reason is to be Judge of these, and this they know not how to use. And yet thus it is with those wife Philosophers, that will deny the plain eyidence of the Senses of Mankind, because they cannot reconcile appearances with the fond Crotchets of a Philosophy, which they lighted on in the High-way by chance, and will adhere to at adventure. So that I profess, for mine own part, I never yet heard any of the confident Declaimers against Witchcraft and Apparitions, Speak any thing that might move a mind, in any degree instructed in the generous kinds of Philosophy and Nature of things. And for the Objections I have recited, they are most of them fuch as role out of mine own thoughts, which I obliged to confider what was possible to be faid upon this occasion.

For though I have examined SCOT's DISCOVERY, fancying that there I should find the strong reasons of mens disbelief in this matter; yet I profess I met not with the least suggestion in all that Farrago, but what it had been ridiculous for me to have gone about to answer: For the Author doth little but tell odd Tales, and silly Legends, which he consutes and laughs at, and pretends this to be a Consutation of the Being of Witches and Apparitions. In all which, His Reasonings are trisling and Childish; and when He ventures at Philosophy, He is little better than absurd: So that 'twill be a wonder to me, if any but Boyes and Buffoons imbibe any prejudices against a Belief so infinitely confirmed, from the Loose

and Imporent Suggestions of so weak a Discourser.

But however, observing two things in that Discourse that would pretend to be more than ordinary Reasons, I shall do them the civility to examine them. It is said then,

(1) That the Gospel is filent, as to the Being of WITCHES; and its not likely, if there were such, but that our Saviour or his Apostles had given intimations of their existence. The other is, (2)

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(2) M Iracles are ceased, and therefore the prodigious things ascribed to Unitchcrast are supposed Dreams and Impostures.

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FOR ANSWER to the FIRST in order, I confider (1) That though the History of the New Testament were granted to be filent in the business of Witches and Compacts, yet the Records of the Old have a frequent mention of them. The Law, Exod. XXII. 18 against permitting them to live (which I mention'd in the beginning) is famous. And we have another remarkable Prohibition of them, Deut. XVIII. Ic, 11. There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter pass through the Fire, or that useth Divination, or an Observer of Times, or an Enchanter, or a WITCH, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer. Now this accumulation of Names, (fome of which are of the fame Sense and Import) is a plain Indication that the HEBREW WITCH was one that practifed by compact with evill Spirits. And many of the same expressions are put together in the Charge against Manaffes, 2 Chron. XXXIII. viz. That he caused his Children to pass through the Fire, observed Times, used Enchantments, and mitche craft, and dealt with Familiar Spirits, and with WIZ-ZARDS. So that though the Original word which we render WITCH and WITCHCRAFT, should, as our Sadducees urge, fignifie only a CHEAT and a POYSONER; yet those others mention'd plainly enough speak the thing; and I have given an account in the former Considerations, how a WITCH in the common notion is a Poyloner. But why meer Poyloning should have a distinct Law against it, and not be concluded under the General one against Murder; why meer Legerdemain and Cheating should be so severely animadverted on, as to be reckon'd with Enchantments, converse with Devils, and Idolarous Practices: I believe the Denier of WITCHES will find it hard to give a Reason which I may add some hard passages of Scripture that yield

vield sufficient evidence in the case. The Nations are forbid to hearken to the Diviners, Dreamers, Enchant. ers, and Sorcerers, Jer. XXVII. 9. the Chaldeans are deeply threatned for their Sorceries and Enchantments, Ifa. XLVII. 9. And we read that Nebuchadnezzar called the Magicians, Astrologers, Sorcerers, and Chaldeans, to tell his Dream. My mention of which last, minds me to fay, that for ought I have to the contrary, there may be a fort of Mitches and Magicians that have no Familiars, that they know, nor any express compact with Apostate Spirits; who yet may perhaps act strange things by diabolick Aids, which they procure by the use of those Forms, and wicked Arts that the Devil did first impart to his confederates: And we know not but the Laws of that dark kingdom may enjoin a particular attendance upon all those that practise their Mysteries, whether they know them to be theirs, or not. For a great interest of their Empire may be served by this project, since those that find such success in the unknown Conjurations, may by that be toll'd on to more express transactions with those Fiends, that have affisted them incognito: Or, if they proceed not fo far, yet they run upon a Rock by acting in the dark, and dealing in unknown and unwarranted Arts, in which the effect is much beyond the proper efficiency of the things they use, and affords ground of more than suspicion that some evil Spirit is the Agent in those wondrous performances.

Upon this account I say, it is not to me unlikely but that the Devils may by their own Constitution be bound to attend upon all that use their Ceremonies and Forms, though ignorantly, and without design of evil; and so Conjuration may have been performed by those who are none of the Covenant-Successes and Wisches. Among those perhaps we may justly reckon Balaam, and the Diviners. For Balaam, Moncaus hath undertaken to clear him from the guilt of the greater Sorcery. And the Diviners are usually distinctly mentioned from those that had Familiar Spirits. The Astrologers also of Elder

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times, and those of ours, I take to have been of this fort of Magicians, and some of them under the colour of that mystical Science, worse. And I question not, but that things are really done, and foretold by those pretended Artists, that are much beyond the regular possibilities of their Art; which in this appears to be exceedingly uncertain and precarious, in that there are no less than six ways of erecting a Scheme, in each of which the prediction of Events shall be different, and yet every one of them be justifiable by the Rules of that Science. And the Principles they go upon, are found to be very arbitrary and unphilosophical, not by the ordinary Declaimers against it, but by the most profound inquirers into things, who perfectly understand the whole Mystery, and are the

only competent Judges.

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Now those Mystical Students may in their first addresfes to this Science, have no other defign, but the fatisfa-Ction of their curiofity to know remote and hidden things : yet that in the progress being not satisfied within the bounds of their Art, doth many times tempt the curious Inquirer to use worse means of Information; and no doubt those mischievous Spirits that are as vigilant as the Beasts of Prey, and watch all occasions to get us within their envious reach, are more constant Attenders, and careful Spies upon the Actions and Inclinations of such. whose genius and designs prepare them for their Temptations. So that I look on Judicial Aftrology as a fair Introduction to Sorcery and Witchcraft. And who knows but that it was first set on foot by the Infernal Hunters, as a Lure to draw the Curiofo's into those snares that lie And yet I believe also, it may be innohid beyond it. cently enough studied by those, that aim only to understand what it is, and how far it will honestly go; and are not willing to condemn any thing which they do not comprehend. But that they must take care to keep themselves within the bounds of sober enquiry, and not indulge irregular sollicitudes about the Knowledge of things which Providence hath thought fit to conceal from us; Which whoever doth, lays himself open to the defigns and folicitations of evil Spirits; and I believe there are very few among those who have been addicted to those strange Arts of wonder, and prediction, but have found themselves attacqued by some unknown Solicitors, and inticed by them to the more dangerous Actions and Correspondencies. For as there are a fort of base and for. did Spirits that attend the envy and malice of the ignorant, and viler fort of persons, and betray them into Compasts by promises of Revenge: So, no doubt, there are a kind of more airy, and speculative Fiends, of an higher Rank and Order than those wretched Imps, who apply themfelves to the Curious; and many times prevail with them by offers of the more recondite knowledge. As we know it was in the first Temptation. Yea, and sometimes they are so cautious, and wary in their Conversations with more refined persons, that they never offer to make any express Covenants with them. And to this purpose I have been informed by a very Learned and Reverend Doctor, that one Mr. Edwards a Master of Arts of Trin. Coll. in Cambridge being reclaimed from Conjuration, declared in his Repentance, That the Damon always appeared to him like a man of good Fashion, and never required any Compact from him. And no doubt, they fort themselves agreeably to the state, port, and genius of those with whom they converse: Yea, 'tis like, as I conjectured, are affiftant sometimes to those, to whom they dare not shew themselves in any openness of appearance, lest they should fright them from those ways of Sin and Temptation. So that we fee, that Men may act by evil Spirits without their own knowledge that they do fo.

And possibly Nebuchadnezzar's Wisemen might be of this fort of Magicians; which Supposal I mention the rather, because it may serve me against some things that may be objected: For, it may be said, If They had been in Confederacy with Devils, it is not probable, that Daniel would have been their Advocate, or in such inoffensive Terms have distinguish their Skill, from Divine Revelation; nor should

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he, one would think, have accepted the office of being Provost over them. These Circumstances may be suppofed to intimate a probability that the Magi of Babylon were in no profest Diabolical Complotment, and I grant it. But yet they might, and in all likelyhood did, use the Arts and Methods of Action, which obtain Demoniack Co-operation and Affiftance, though without their Privity, and fo they were a less criminal fort of Conjurers; For those Arts were conveyed down along to them from one hand to another, and the Successours still took them up from those that preceded, without a Philosophical Scrutiny, or They saw strange things were done, and Events predicted by fuch Forms, and fuch words, How, they could not tell, nor 'cis like, did not inquire; but contented themselves with this general account, That 'twas by the Power of their Arts, and were not follicitous for any better reason. This I say was probably the case of most of those Predictors, though, it may be, others of them advanced further into the more desperate part of the Mystery. And that some did immediately transact with appearing evil Spirits in those times, is apparent enough from express mention in the Scriptures I have alledg'd.

And the story of the WITCH of ENDOR, I Sam. XXVIII. is a remarkable Demonstration of the main Conclusion; which will appear when we have considered and removed the Fancy, and Glosses of our Author about it, in his DISCOVERY: where to avoid this Evidence, he affirms, This WITCH to be but a Couzener, and the whole Transaction a Cheat and Imposture, managed by her Self and a Confederate. And in order to the persuading this, he tells a fine Tale, viz. That She departed from Saul into her Closet, "Where doubtless, says he, she had "a Familiar, some lewd crafty Priest, and made Saul stand "at the door like a Fool, to hear the cozening Answers." He saith, she there used the ordinary words of Conjutation; & after them Samuel appears, whom he affirms to be no other than either the Witch her self, or her Confea

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derate. By this pretty Knack and Contrivance he thinks he hath disabled the relation from fignifying to our purpose

But the DISCOVERER might have confide. red, that all this is an Invention, and without Book. For there is no mention of the Witches Clofet, or her retiring into another Room, or her Confederate, or her Form Conjuration: I fay, nothing of all this, is as much as intimated in the History; & if we may take this large Libert in the interpretation of Scripture, there is scarce a Storyin the Bible but may be made a Fallacy, an Imposture, or any thing that we please. Nor is this Fancy of his only ar. bitrary, but indeed contrary to the circumstances of the For it fays, Saul perceived it was Samuel, and bomed himself, and this Samuel truly foretold his approaching Fate, viz. That Israel should be delivered with him into the hands of the Philistines; and that on the morrow He and his Sons should be in the state of the Dead, which doubtless is meant by the expression, that [they should be with him.] Which contingent particulars, how could the Cozener and her Confederate foretel, if there were nothing in it extraordinary and preternatural.

It hath indeed been a great dispute among Interpreters, whether the real Samuel was raised, or the Devil in his likeness? Most later Writers suppose it to have been an evil Spirit, upon the supposition that good and happy Souls can never return hither from their Celestial abodes; and they are not certainly at the beck and call of an impious Hagg. But then those of the other side urge, that the Piety of the words that were spoke, and the seasonable reproof given to despairing Saul, are indications sufficient that they come not from Hell; and especially they think the Prophecy of Circumstances very accidental to be an argument, that it was not utter'd by any of the infernal Predictors. And for the Supposal that is the ground of that interpretation, 'tis judged exceedingly precarious; for who faith that happy departed Souls were never employed in any ministeries here below? And those dissenters are ready to ask a reason, why they may

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tot be fent in Messages to Earth, as well as those of the Angelical Order? They are nearer allied to our Natures. and upon that account more intimately concerned in our affairs; and the example of returning Lazarus is evidence of the thing de facto. Besides which, that it was the real Samuel they think made probable by the opinion of Jesus the Son of Syrac, Eccles. XLVI. 19, 20. who faith of him, That after his death he prophesied and shewed the King his end: which also is likely from the circumstance of the womans aftonishment, and crying out when the faw him, intimating her furprize, in that the power of God had over-ruled her Enchantments, and fent another than she expected. And they conceive there is no more incongruity in supposing God should fend Samuel to rebuke Saul for this his last folly, and to predict his instant ruine, than in his interposing Elias to the Messengers of Ahazias when he sent to Beelzebub. Now if it were the real Samuel, as the Letter expresseth, (and the obvious fence is to be followed when there is no cogent reason to decline it) he was not raised by the power of the Witches Enchantments, but came on that occasion on a Divine Errand. But yet attempts and endeavours to raise her Familiar Spirit, (though at that time over-ruled) are arguments that it had been her custom to do so. Or if it were as the other side concludes, the Devil in the shape of Samuel, her diabolical Confederacy is yet more palpable.

### SECT. XVIII.

I HAVE now done with SCOT, and his presumptions; and am apt to fancy, that there is nothing more needful to be said to discover the Discoverer. But there is an Author infinitely more valuable, that calls me to consider him, 'Tis the great Episcopius, who, though he grants a fort of Witches and Magicians, yet denies Compasts. His Authority, I confess, is considerable, but let us weigh his Reasons.

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His First is, That there is no Example of any of the prophane Nations that were in fuch Compact; whence he would infer, that there are no express Covenants with evil Spirits in particular instances. But I think that both proposition and consequence, are very obnoxious and defe-Hive. For that there were Nations that did actually wor. thip the Devil is plain enough in the Records of ancient times, and some so read that place in the Pfalms, The Gods of the Heathen are Devils; and Sathan we know is call'd the God of this World. Yea, our Author himself confesseth that the Nation of the Fews were so strictly prohibited Witchcraft, and all Transaction with evil Spirits; because of their proneness to worship them. But what need more? There are at this day that pay facrifice, and all facred Homage to the wicked Die in a vifible appearance; and 'tis well known to those of our own that traffick, and reside in those parts, that the Caribbians worship the Devil under the name of Maboya, who frequently flews himself, and transacts with them; the like Travellers relate concerning divers other parts of the barbarous Indies: and 'tis confidently reported by fober intelligent men that have visited those places, that most of the Laplanders, and some other Northern people, are Witches. That 'tis plain that there are Narional Confederacies with Devils; or, if there were none, I fee not how it could be inferred thence, that there are no personal ones, no more, than that there were never any Damoniacks, because we know of no Nation univer-Sally possessed; nor any Lunaticks in the World, because there is no Countrey of Madmen. But our Author reafons again,

(2) To this purpose; "That the profligate persons who are obnoxious to those gross temptations, are fast enough before; and therefore such a Covenant were needless, and of no avail to the Tempters projects."

This Objection I have answered already, in my Remarques upon the IX. Prejudice; and mind you again here, that if the designs of those evil Spirits were only

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in general to secure wicked men to the dark Kingdom, it might better be pretended that we cannot give a reason for their temptations, and endeavours in this kind; But it being likely, as I have conjectur'd, that each of those infernal Tempters hath a particular property in those he hath seduced, and secured by such compacts, their respective pride and tyrannical desire of slaves, may reasonably be thought to engage them in such Attempts in which their

fo peculiar interest is concerned.

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But I add what is more direct, viz. That fuch desperate Sinners are made more fafe to the infernal Kingdom at large, by such Hellish Covenants and Combinations: since thereby they confirm, and harden their Hearts against God, and put themselves at a greater distance from his Grace, and his Spirit; give the deepest wound to Conscience, and resolve to wink against all its light and convi-Etions; throw a Bar in the way of their own Repentance, and lay a Train for despair of Mercy. These certainly are sure ways of being undone, and the Devil, we see, hath great interest in a project, the success of which is so attended. And we know he made the affault de facto upon our Saviour, when he tempted him to fall down, and worship. So that this learned Author hath but little reaion to object,

(3) That to endeavour such an express Covenant is contrary to the interests of Hell; which indeed are this way so mightily promoted. And whereas he suggests, that a thing so horrid is like to startle Conscience, and awaken the Soul to Consideration and Repentance: I Reply, That indeed considering man in the general, as a rational Creature, acted by hopes, and fears, and sensible of the joys and miseries of another World, one would expect it should be so: But then, if we cast our eyes upon man, as really he is, sunk into sless and present sense; darkned in his mind, and governed by his imagination; blinded by his passions, and besotted by sin and folly; hardned by cvil Customs, and hurried away by the torrent of his inclinations and desires: I say, looking on man in this mise-

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vailed upon by the Tempter, and his own Lusts to act at a wonderful rate of Madness, and continue unconcerned and stupid in it; intent upon his present Satisfactions, without sense or consideration of the Dreadfulness and Danger of his Condition; and by this I am furnished also to meet

a fourth Objection of our Author's, viz.

(4) That 'tis not probable upon the Witches part, that they will be so desperate to renounce God and eternal Happiness, and so, everlastingly undoe their Bodies and Souls, for a short and trivial interest; which way of arguing will only infer, that Mankind acts sometimes to prodigious degrees of brutishness; and actually we see it in the instances of every day. There is not a Lust so base, and so contemptible, but there are those continually, in our eyes, that feed it with the facrifice of their eternity, and their Souls; and daring Sinners rush upon the blackest villanies with so little remorfe, or sense, as if it were their design to prove that they have nothing left them of that whereby they are men. So that nought can be inferred from this Argument, but that humane nature is incredibly degenerate; and the Vilens and Stupidity of men is really lo great, that things are customary, and common, which one could not think possible, if he did not hourly see them. And if men of liberal Education, and acute Reason, that know their Duty, and their Danger, are driven by their Appetites, with their Eyes open, upon the most fatal Rocks, and make all the haste they can from their God, and their Happiness; If such can barter their Souls for trifles, and sell Everlastingness for a moment; sport upon the brink of a Precipice, and contemn all the terrors of the future dreadfull Day; Why should it then be incredible, that a brutish, vile person, sotted with Ignorance, and drunk with Malice, mindless of God, and unconcerned about a future Being, should be perswaded to accept of present, delightful Gratifications, without duly weighing the desperate Condition?

Thus, I suppose, I have answered also the Argument of this

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this Great man, against the Covenants of Witches; and fince a Person of such Sagacity and Learning, hath no more to fay against what I defend, and another of the same Character, the ingenious Mr. S. Parker, who directed me to him, reckons the fe the strongest things that can be objected in the Case, I begin to arrive to an higher degree of confidence in this belief; and am almost inclined to fancy, that there is little more to be faid to purpose, which may not by the improvement of my CONSIDER A-TIONS be easily answered; and I am yet the more fortified in my conceit, because I have since the former Edition of this Book, fent to several acute and ingenious persons of my acquaintance, to beg their Objections, or those they have heard from others, against my Discourse or Relations, that I might consider them in this : But I can procure none fave only those few I have now discuss'd. most of my Friends telling me, that they have not met with any that need, or deserve my notice.

### SECT. XIX.

BY all this it is evident, that there were WITCH-LAW; and that there were fuch in the times of the GOSPEL also, will not be much more difficult to make good. I had a late occasion to say something about this, in a Letter to a Person of the highest honour, from which I hall now borrow fome things to my present purpose.

I SAY then (II.) That there were Compacts with e-vil Spirits in those times also, is methinks intimated strongly in that faying of the Jews concerning our Saviour, That he cast out Devils by Beelzebub. In his return to which, he denies not the Supposition or Possibility of the thing in general; but clears himself by an appeal to the Actions of their own Children, whom they would

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not tax so severely. And I cannot very well understand why those times should be priviledged from WITCH-CRAFT, and Diabolical Compacts, more than they were from Possessions, which we know were then more frequent (for ought appears to the contrary) than ever they were before or fince. But besides this, There are intimations plain enough in the Apostles Writings of the being of Sorcery and WITCHCRAFT. St. Paul reckons Witchcraft next Idolatry, in his Catalogue of the works of the flesh, Gal. V. 20. and the Sorcerers are again join'd with Idolaters in that fad Denunciation, Rev. XXI. 8. and a little after, Rev. XXII. 15. they are reckoned again among Idolaters, Murderers, and those others that are without. And methinks the story of Simon Magus, and his diabolical Oppositions of the Gospel in its beginnings, should afford clear conviction. To all which,

I add this more general confideration,

(3) That though the New Testament had mention'd nothing of this matter, yet its silence in such cases is not argumentative. Our Saviour spake as he had occasion, and the thousandth part of what he did, and said, is not recorded, as one of his Historians intimates. He faid nothing of those large unknown Tracts of America, nor gave he any intimations of as much as the Existence of that numerous people; much less did he leave instructions about their conversion. He gives no account of the affairs and frate of the other world, but only that general one of the bappiness of some, and the misery of others. He made no discovery of the Magnalia of Art or Nature; no, not of those, whereby the propagation of the Gospel might have been much advanced, viz. the Mystery of Printing, and the Magnet; and yet no one useth his filence in these instances, as an argument against the being of things, which are evident objects of sense. I confess, the omission of some of these particulars is pretty strange, and unaccountable, and concludes our ignorance of the reasons, and menages of Providence; but I suppose, nothing elfe. I thought, I needed here to have faid no more,

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more, but I consider, in consequence of this Objection, it is pretended; That as CHRIST JESUS drove the Devil from his Temples, and his Altars (as is clear in the Cessation of Oracles, which dwindled away, and at last grew silent shortly upon his appearance) so in like manner, it said, that he banisht Him from his lesser holds in Sorcerers and Witches; which argument is peccant both in what it assumes, and in what it would infer. For

(1.) The coming of the H. JESUS did not expel the Devil from all the greater places of his residence and worship; for a considerable part of barbarous Mankind do him publick, solemn Homage, to this day: So that the very foundation of the pretence sails, and the Consequence without any more ado comes to nothing. And yet be-

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(2.) If there be any credit to be given to Ecclesiastical History, there were persons possessed with Devils some Ages after Christ, whom the Disciples cast out by Prayer, and the Invocation of his Name: So that Sathan was not driven from his lesser habitations, as soon as he was forced from his more famous abodes. And I see no reason

(3.) Why, Though Divine Providence would not allow him publickly to abuse the Nations, whom he had designed in a short time after, for Subjects of his Son's Kingdom, and to stand up in the face of Religion in an open affront to the Divinity that planted it, to the great hindrance of the progress of the Gospel, and discouragement of Christian hopes; I say, Though Providence, would not allow this height of insolent opposition; yet I see not why we may not grant, that God however permitted the Devil to sneak into some private skulking holes, and to trade with the particular more devoted vassals of his wicked Empire: As we know that when our Saviour had chased him from the man that was possessed, he permitted his retreat into the herd of Swine. And I might add,

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(4.) That 'tis but a bad way of arguing, to set up fancied congruities against plain experience, as is evidently done by those arguers, who, because they think that Christ chased the Devil from all his high places of worship when he came; that 'tis therefore sit he should have forced him from all his other less notorious Haunts: and upon the imagination of a decency, which they frame, conclude a fast, contrary to the greatest evidence of which

the thing is capable. And once more,

(5.) The consequence of this imagined Decorum, if it be pursued, would be this, that Sathan should now be deprived of all the ways and tricks of Couzenage, whereby he abuseth us; and mankind since the coming of Christ, should have been secure from all his Temptations; for there is a greater congruity in believing, that, when he was forced from his haunts in Temples and publick places, he should be put also from those nearer ones, about us and within us in his daily temptations of universal Mankind; than, that upon relinquishing those, he should be made to leave all profest communication and correspondence with those prosligate persons, whose vileness had sitted them for such company.

So that these Reasoners are very Fair for the denial of all internal diabolical Temptations. And because I durst not trust them, 1911 crave your leave here to add some

things concerning those.

In order to which that I may obtain the favour of those wary persons, who are so coy, and shy of their assent, I grant; That men frequently out of a desire to excuse themselves, lay their own guilt upon the Devil, and charge him with things of which in earnest he is not guilty: For I doubt not but every wicked man hath Devil enough in his own nature to prompt him to Evil, and needs not another Tempter to incite him. But yet, that Sathan endeavours to surther our wickedness, and our ruine by his inticements, and goes up and down seeking whom he may devour, is too evident in the holy Oracles, to need my endeavours particularly to make it good; Only those diffident

diffident men cannot perhaps apprehend the manner of the operation, and from thence are tempted to believe, that there is really no such thing. Therefore I judge it requisite to explain this, and 'tis not unsuitable to my ge-

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In order to it I consider, That sense is primarily caused by motion in the Organs, which by continuity is conveyed to the brain, where sensation is immediately performed; and it is nothing else, but a notice excited in the Soul by the impulse of an external object. Thus it is in simple outward sense. But imagination, though caused immediately by material motion also, yet it differs from the external senses in this, That 'tis not from an impress directly from without, but the prime, and original motion is from within our selves: Thus the Soul it self sometimes strikes upon those strings, whose motion begets fuch, and fuch phantalms; otherwhile, the loofe Spirits wandring up and down in the brain, casually hit upon fuch filaments and strings whose motion excites a conception, which we call a Fancy, or Imagination; and if the evidence of the outward senses be thut out by sleep or melancholy, in either case, we believe those representations to be real and external transactions, when they are only within our heads; Thus it is in Enthusiasms, and Dreams. And besides these causes of the motions which stir imagination, there is little doubt, but that Spirits good, or bad can so move the instruments of sense in the brain, as to awake such imaginations, as they have a mind to excite; and the imagination having a mighty influence upon the affections, and they upon the will and external actions, 'tis very easie to conceive how good Angels may stir us up to Religion and Vertue, and the Evil ones tempt us to Lewdnels and Vice, viz. by representments that they make upon the stage of imagination, which invite our affections, and allure, though they cannot compel, our wills.

This I take to be an intelligible account of temptations, and also of Angelical encouragements; and perhaps this is the only way of immediate influence that the Spirits of

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the other world have upon us. And by it, 'tis easie to give an account of Dreams both Monitory, and Temperamental, Enthusiasms, Fanatick Ecstasies, and the like, as I suggested.

Thus, Sir, to the FIRST. But the other pretence

also must be examined.

### SECT. XX.

(2.) IR ACLES are ceast, therefore the presumed actions of Witchcrast are tales, and illusions.]

To make a due return to this, we must consider a great and difficult Problem, which is, What is a real Miracle? And for answer to this weighty Question, I think,

THAT it is not the strangeness, or unaccountableness of the thing done simply, from whence we are to conclude a Miracle. For then, we are so to account of all the Magnalia of Nature, and all the Mysteries of those honest Arts, which we do not understand.

Nor, (2.) is this the Criterion of a Miracle, That it is an action or event beyond all natural powers; for we are ignorant of the extent and bounds of Natures sphere, and possibilities: And if this were the character and essential mark of a Miracle, we could not know what was so; except we could determine the extent of natural causalities, and fix their bounds, and be able to say to Nature, Hitherto canst thou go, and no further. And he that makes this his measure whereby to judge a Miracle, is himself the greatest Miracle of knowledge, or immodesty. Besides, though an effect may transcend really all the powers of meer nature; yet there is a world of spirits that must be taken into our account. And as to them also I say,

(1.) Every thing is not a Miracle, that is done by

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Agents supernatural. There is no doubt but that evil Spirits can make wonderful combinations of natural causes, and perhaps perform many things immediately which are prodigious, and beyond the longest line of Nature: but yet These are not therefore to be called Miracles; for, THEY are SACREDWONDERS, and suppose the POWER to be DIVINE. But how shall the power be known to be so, when we so little understand the capacities, and extent of the abilities of lower Agents? The Answer to this Question will discover the Criterion of Miracles, which must be supposed to have all the former particulars; (They are unaccountable, beyond the powers of meer Nature, and done by Agents supernatural; and to these must be superadded,

(4.) That they have peculiar circumstances that speak them of a divine Original. Their mediate Authors declare them to be so, and they are always persons of Simplicity, Truth, and Holiness, void of Ambition, and all secular Designs. They seldom use Ceremonies, or natural Applications, and yet surmount all the activities of known Nature. They work those wonders, not to raise admiration, or out of the vanity to be talkt of; but to seal and consirmsome Divine Dostrine, or Commission, in which the good and happiness of the World is concerned.

I say by such circumstances as these, wonderful Actions are known to be from a Divine cause; and that makes, and

distinguisheth a Miracle.

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And thus I am prepared for an Answer to the Objection, to which I make this brief return, That tho' WII CHES by their Confederate Spirit do those odd, and astonishing things we believe of them; yet are they no Miracles, there being evidence enough from the badness of their Lives, and the ridiculous Ceremonies of their performances, from their malice and mischievous designs, that the POWER that works, and the end for which those things are done, is not Divine, but Diabolical. And by singular Providence they are not ordinarily permitted, as much as to pretend to any new sacred Discoveries in matters of Religion,

Religion, or to act any thing for Confirmation of doctrinal Impostures. So that whether Miracles are ceased, or not, these are none. And that such Miracles as are only strange, and unaccountable performances, above the common methods of Art or Nature, are not ceas'd, we have a late great Evidence in the famous GREATRAK; concerning whom it will not be impertinent to add the following Account which I had in a Letter from the Reverend Dr. R. Dean of C. a person of great Veracity, and a Philosopher. This learned Gentleman then is pleased thus to write.

"THE great discourse now at the Coffee-houses, and every where is about Mr. G. the samous Irish "Stroker, concerning whom it is like you expect an ac-"count from me. He undergoes various censures here, "fome take him to be a Conjurer, and fome, an Impostor, "but others again adore him as an Apostle. I confess I "think the man is free from all defign, of a very agree-" able Conversation, not addicted to any Vice, nor to "any Sect or Party; but is, I believe, a fincere Prote-" fant. I was three weeks together with him at my Lord "Conway's, and faw him, I think, lay his hands upon a "thousand persons; and really there is something in it " more than ordinary; but I am convinc'd it is not miraculous. I have feen Pains strangely fly before his hand "till he hath chafed them out of the Body, Dimness clea-" red, and Deafness cured by his touch; Twenty persons at " feveral times in Fits of the Falling-Sickness, were in "two or three minutes brought to themselves, so as to tell where their pain was, and then he hath purfued "it till he hath driven it out at some extream part; "Running Sores of the King's-Evil dried up, Kernels brought to a Suppuration by his hand; grie-" vous Sores of many months date, in few days healed; "Obstructions and Stoppings removed, Cancerous Knots in "the Breast dissolved, &c.

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"But yet I have many reasons to perswade me, that nothing of all this is Miraculous: He pretends not to give Testimony to any Dostrine, the manner of his O- peration speaks it to be natural, the Cure seldom succeeds without reiterating touches, his Patients often re- lapse, he fails frequently, he can do nothing where there is any decay in Nature, and many Distempers are not at all obedient to his touch. So that, I consess, I re- fer all his vertue to his particular Temper and Complexion, and I take his Spirits to be a kind of Elixir, and universal Ferment; and that he cures as (Dr. M. expressed in the pressed in the cures as (Dr. M. expressed in the pressed in the cures as (Dr. M. expressed in the cure of the cure o

This, Sir, was the First Account of the Healer, I had from that Reverend Person, which with me signifies more than the attestations of multitudes of ordinary Reporters; and no doubt but it will do so likewise, with all that know that excellent man's singular Integrity and Judgment. But besides this, upon my enquiry into some other particulars about this matter, I received these sur-

ther Informations.

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"As for Mr. G. what opinion he hath of his own Gift, "and how he came to know it? I answer, He hath a dif-"ferent apprehension of it from yours, and mine, and " certainly believeth it to be an immediate Gift from Hea-"ven; and 'tis no wonder, for he is no Philosopher. "And you will wonder less, when you hear how he came "to know it, as I have often received it from his own About three or four years ago he had a "ftrong impulse upon his spirit, that continually pursued "him whatever he was about, at his Business, or Devo-"tion, alone, or in company, that spake to him by this "inward suggestion [ I have given thee the gift of curing "the Evil.] This suggestion was so importunate, that he "complained to his Wife, That he thought he was "haunted: She apprehended it as an extravagancy of "Fancy, but he told her he believed there was more in "it, and was refolved to try. He did not long want "opportunity.

"opportunity. There was a Neighbour of his grievoully afflicted with the King's Evil, He stroked her, " and the effect succeeded. And for about a Twelve. "month together he pretended to cure no other Diftem. per, but then the Ague being very rife in the Neigh-"bourhood, the same Impulse after the same manner " spoke within him, [ I have given thee the Gift of cu-"ring the Ague; ] and meeting with persons in their "Fits, and taking them by the hand, or laying his "hand upon their Breafts, the Ague left them. About "half a year after the accustomed Impulse became more "general, and suggested to him [ I have given thee the "Gift of Healing: ] and then he attempted all Diseases "indifferently. And though he saw strange effects, yet "he doubted whether the cause were any vertue that "came from him, or the peoples fancy: To convince "him of his incredulity, as he lay one night in bed, one of his Hands was struck dead, and the usual Impulse "fuggested to him to make trial of his vertue upon "himself, which he did, stroking it with his other hand, "and then it immediately returned to its former liveli-"ness. This was repeated two or three nights (or morn-"ings) together.

"This is his Relation, and I believe there is so much incerity in the person, that he tells no more than what he believes to be true. To say that this Impulse too was but a Result of his Temper, and that it is but like Dreams that are usually according to mens Constitutions, doth not seem a probable account of the Phanometon. Perhaps some may think it more likely, that some Genius who understood the sanative vertue of his Complexion, and the readiness of his Mind, and ability of his Body, to put it in execution, might give him notice of that, which otherwise might have been for ever unknown to him, and so the Gift of God had been

"to no purpose.

This, Sir, is my Learned and Reverend Friend's Relation, and I judge his Reflections as ingenious as his Report

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is fincere. I shall say no more about it but this, that many of those matters of Fast, have been since critically inspected and examined by several sagacious and deep searchers of the ROYAL SOCIETY, whom we may suppose as unlikely to be deceived by a contrived Im-

posture, as any persons extant.

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And now, Sir, 'tis fit that I relieve your patience; and I shall do so, when I have said, that You can abundantly prove, what I have thus attempted to defend: And that among the many Obligations your Country hath to you, for the Wisdom and Diligence of your Endeavours in its service; your Ingenious Industry for the Detecting of those vile Practisers, is not the least considerable. To which I will add no more, but the Confession who it is that hath given you all this trouble; which I know you are ready to pardon, to the respect and good Intentions of,

SIR,

Your Affectionate and Obliged

Honourer and Servant,

J. G.

Adver-

### Advertisement.

Habout Witchcraft. But understanding by his Letters and Papers, that he intended something further to enlarge this First Part of his Saducismus Triumphatus, which concerns the Possibility of the Existence of Spirits, Apparitions, and Witches, but that he has done nothing therein, being prevented by Death; Ithought it might prove not an unuseful Supplement, to translate most of the two last Chapters of Dr. H. M. his Enchiridion Metaphysicum into English, and add it to this First Part, as a suitable Appendage thereto. Which is as follows.

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## APPENDAGE

To this First PART,

IS

Concerning the

### POSSIBILITY

OF

## APPARITIONS

AND

# Witchcraft.

Containing

The Easie, True, and Genuine NOTION, and consistent Explication of the Nature

OF A

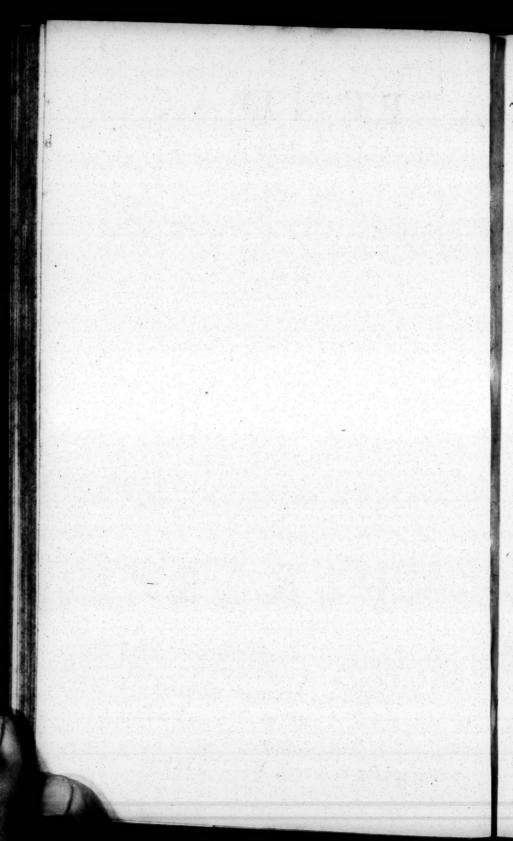
## SPIRIT,

Whereby

The POSSIBILITY of the EXISTENCE of SPIRITS, APPARITIONS, and WITCHCRAFT is further confirmed.

LONDON,

Printed for S. Lownds, M DC LXXXVIII.



### THE

Easie, True, and Genuine

## NOTION

And Confistent

### EXPLICATION

Of the NATURE of a

## SPIRIT.

### SECT. I.

The Opinions of the NULLIBISTS and HOLEN-MERIANS proposed.

Hat we may explicate the Essence or Notion of Incorporeal Beings or Spirits, with the greater fatisfaction and success, we are first to remove two vast Mounds of Darkness, wherewith the ignorance of some hath encumbred and obscured their nature.

And the first is of those, who though they readily acknowledge there are such things as Incorporeal Beings or Spirits, yet do very peremptorily contend that they are no where in the whole World. Which opinion, though at the very first sight it appears very ridiculous, yet it is

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stiffly held by the maintainers of it, and that not without some Fastuosity and Superciliousness, or at least some more sly and tacite contempt of such Philosophers as hold the contrary, as of men less intellectual and too too much indulging to their Imagination. Those other therefore because they so boldly affirm that a Spirit is Nullibi, that is to say, Nowhere, have deservedly purchased to themselves the Name or Title of Nullibists.

The other Mound of Darkness laid upon the nature of a Spirit, is by those who willingly indeed acknowledge that Spirits are somewhere; but add further. That they are not only entirely or totally in their whole Ubi or place, (in the most general sence of the word) but are totally in every part or point thereof, and describe the peculiar nature of a Spirit to be such, that it must be Totus in toto & totus in qualibet sui parte. Which therefore the Greeks would fitly and briefly call & olar das part and this propriety thereof (& dominator & older the Holenmerism of Incorporeal Beings. Whence also these other Philosophers diametrically opposite to the former, may most significantly and compendiously be called Holenmerians.

### SECT. II.

That Cartesius is the Prince of the Nullibists, and wherein chiefly consists the force of their Opinion.

THE Opinions of both which kind of Philosophers having sufficiently explained, we will now propose and consute the Reasons of each of them; and first of the Nullibists. Of whom the chief Authour and Leader seems to have been that pleasant Wit Renatus des Carres, who by his jocular Metaphysical Meditations, has so luxated and distorted the rational Faculties of some otherwise sober and quick-witted persons, but in this point

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by reason of their over-great admiration of Des Cartes not fufficiently cautious, that deceived, partly by his counterfeit and prestigious subtilty, and partly by his Authority, have perswaded themselves that such things were most true and clear to them; which had they not been blinded with these prejudices, they could never have thought to have been fo much as possible. they having been so industriously taught, and diligently instructed by him, how they might not be imposed upon, no not by the most powerful and most ill-minded fallacious Deity, have heedlesly, by not sufficiently flanding upon their guard, been deceived and illuded by a meer man, but of a pleafant and abundantly-cunning and abstruse Genius; as shall clearly appear after we have fearched and examined the reasons of this Opinion of the Nullibists to the very bottom.

The whole force whereof is comprised in these three Axioms. The first, That what soever thinks is Immaterial, and so on the contrary. The second, That whatever is extended is Material. The third, That whatever is unextended is Nowhere. To which third I shall add this fourth, as a necessary and manifest Consectary thereof, viz. That what soever is somewhere is extended. the Nullibists of themselves will easily grant me to be Otherwise they could not seriously contend for their Opinion, whereby they affirm Spirits to be nowhere; but would be found to do it only by way of an oblique and close derision of their Existence, saying indeed they exist, but then again hiddenly and cunningly denying it, by affirming they are nowhere. Wherefore doubtlessy they affirm them to be nowhere, if they are in good earnest, for this reason only; for fear they granting them to be somewhere, it would be presently extorted from them, even according to their own Principles, that they are extended, as whatever is extended is Material, according to their fecond Axiome. It is therefore manifest that we both agree in this, that whatever Real Being there is that is somewhere, is also extended.

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SECT.

### SECT. III.

The Sophistical weakness of that reasoning of the Nullibists, who, because we can conceive Cogitation without conceiving in the mean while Matter, conclude, That what so ever thinks is Immaterial.

ITH which truth notwithstanding we being furnished and supported, I doubt not but we shall with ease quite overthrow and utterly root out this opinion of the Nullibists. But that their levity and credulity may more manifestly appear, let us examine the Principles of this Opinion by Parts, and consider

how well they make good each member.

The first is, Whatever thinks is Immaterial, and on the contrary. The conversion of this Axiome I will not examine, because it makes little to the present purpose. I will only note by the bye, that I doubt not but it may be false, although I easily grant the Axiome it self to be true. But it is this new Method of demonstrating it I call into question, which from hence, that we can conceive Cogitation, in the mean time not conceiving Matter, concludes that Whatever thinks is Immaterial. Now that we can conceive Cogitation without conceiving Matter, they say is manifest from hence, That although one should suppose there were no Body in the Universe, and should not flinch from that position, yet notwithstanding he would not cease to be certain, that there was Res cogitans, a thinking Being, in the world, he finding himself to be such. But I further add, though he should suppose there was no Immaterial Being in nature (nor indeed Material) and should not slinch from that position, yet he would not cease to be certain that there was a thinking Being, (no not if he should suppose himself not to be a thinking Being ) because he can suppose nothing without Cogitation. Which I thought worth the while to note by the bye, that the great levity of

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the Nullibists might hence more clearly appear.

But yet I add further, that fuch is the nature of the Mind of Man, that it is like the Eye, better fitted to contemplate other things than it felf; and that therefore 'tis no wonder that thinking nothing of its own Essence, it does fixedly enough and intently consider in the mean time and contemplate all other things, yea, those very things with which she has the nearest affinity, and yet without any reflection that her felf is of the like nature. Whence it may eafily come to pass, when she is so wholly taken up in contemplating other things, without any reflection upon her felf, that either carelefly she may confider her felf in general as a meer thinking Being, without any other Attribute, or else by resolvedness afterwards, and by a force on purpose offered to her own faculties. But that this reasoning is wonderfully weak and trifling as to the proving of the Mind of Man to be nothing else; that is to fay, to have no other Attributes, but mere Cogitation, there is none that does not discern.

#### SECT. IV.

The true Method that ought to be taken for the proving that MATTER cannot think.

L Astly, If Cartesius with his Nullibists would have dealt bon side, they ought to have omitted all those ambagious windings and Meanders of seigned Abstraction, and with a direct stroke to have fall upon the thing it self, and so to have sisted Matter, and searched the nature of Cogitation, that they might thence have evidently demonstrated that there was some inseparable Attribute in Matter that is repugnant to the Cogitative saculty, or in Cogitation that is repugnant to Matter. But out of the meer diversity of Idea's or Notions of any Attributes, to collect their separability or real distinction, year their contrariety and repugnancy, is most foully

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he of ne foully to violate the indispensible Laws of Logick, and to confound Diversa with Opposita, and make them all one. Which mistake to them that understand Logick

must needs appear very course and absurd.

But that the weakness and vacillancy of this Method may yet more clearly appear, let us suppose that which yet Philosophers of no mean name seriously stand for and assert, viz. That Cogitative substance is either Material or Immaterial; does it not apparently follow thence, that athinking substance may be precisely conceived without the conception of Matter, as Matter without the conception of Cogitation, when notwithstanding in one of the members of this distribution they are joined suf-

ficiently close together?

How can therefore this new fangled Method of Cartefins convince us that this Supposition is false, and that the distribution is illegitimate? Can it from thence, that Matter may be conceived without Cogitation, and Cogitation without Matter? The first all grant, and the other the distribution it self supposes; and yet continues fufficiently firm and fure. Therefore it is very evident, that there is a necessity of our having recourse to the known and ratified Laws of Logick, which many Ages before this new upstart Method of Des Cartes appeared, were established and approved by the common fuffrage of Mankind; Which teach us that in every legitimate distribution the parts ought confentire cum toto, & dissentire inter se, to agree with the Whole, but disagree one with another. Now in this Distribution that they do sufficiently disagree, it is very manifest. It remains only to be proved, that one of the parts, namely that which supposes that a Cogitative substance may be Material, is repugnant to the nature of the Whole. This is that clear, folid and manifest way or method according to the known Laws of Logick; but that new way, a kind of Sophistry and pleasant mode of trifling and prevaricating.

### SECT. V.

That all things are in some sort extended, demonstrated out of the Corollary of the third Principle of the Nullibists.

A S for the second Axiome or Principle, viz. That whatsoever is extended is Material; for the evincing the falsity thereof, there want no new Arguments, if one have but recourse to the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Chapters of Enchiridium Metaphysicum, where, by unanswerable reasonings it is demonstrated, That there is a certain Immaterial and Immoveable Extensum distinct from the Moveable Matter. But however, out of the Consectary of their third Principle, we shall prove at once, that all Spirits are extended as being somewhere, against the wild and ridiculous Opinion of the Nullibists.

Whose third Principle, and out of which immediately and precifely they conclude Spirits to be no where, is, What soever is unextended, is no where. Which I very willingly grant; but on this condition, that they on the other fide concede (and I doubt not but they will) That what soever is somewhere is also extended; from which Confectary I will evince with Mathematical certainty, That God and our Soul, and all other Immaterial Beings, are in some fort extended: For the Nullibists themselves acknowledge and affert, that the Operations wherewith the Soul acts on the Body, are in the Body; and that Power or Divine Vertue wherewith God acts on the Matter and moves it, is present in every part of the Matter. Whence it is eafily gathered, That the Operation of the Soul and the moving Power of God is somewhere, viz. in the Body, and in the Matter the Operation of the Soul wherewith it acts on the Body and the Soul it felf, and the Divine Power wherewith God moves the Matter and God himfelf, are together, nor

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can so much as be imagined separate one from the other; namely, the Operation from the Soul, and the Power from God. Wherefore if the Operation of the Soul is somewhere, viz. there where the Operation. And if the Power of God be somewhere, God is somewhere, namely, there where the Divine Power is; He in every part of the Matter, the Soul in the humane Body. Whosoever can deny this, by the same reason he may deny that common Notion in Mathematicks, Quantities that are singly equal to one third, are equal to one another.

### SECT. VI.

The apert confession of the Nullibists that the ESSENCE of a Spirit is where its OPERATION is; and how they contradict themselves, and are forced to acknowledge a Spirit extended.

ND verily that which we contend for, the Nulli-A bists seem apertly to assert, even in their own express words, as it is evident in Lambertus Velthusius in his De Initiis Prima Philosophia in the Chapter De Ubi. Who though he does manifestly affirm that God and the Mind of Man by their Operations, are in every part, or some one part of the Matter; and that in that sence, namely, in respect of their Operations, the Soul may be truly said to be somewhere, God everywhere; as if that were the only mode of their presence: yet he does exprefly grant, that the Effence is no where separate from that whereby God, or a Created Spirit is faid to be, the one everywhere, the other somewhere; that no man may conceit the Essence of God to be where the rest of his Attributes are not. That the Effence of God is in Heaven, but that his Vertue diffuses it felf beyond Heaven. No, by no means, faith he, Wheresoever God's Power or Operation is, there is the Nature of God; forasmuch

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as God is a Substance devoid of all composition. Thus far Velthusius. Whence I assume, But the Power or Operation of God is in or present to the Matter; Therefore the Essence of God is in or present to the Matter, and is there where the Matter is, and therefore somewhere. Can there be any deduction or illation more close and coherent with the Premisses?

And yet that other most devoted follower of the Cartesian Philosophy, Ludovicus de la Forge, cannot abstain
from the offering us the same advantage of arguing, or
rather from the inferring the same conclusion with us in
his Treatise De Mente Humana, Chap. 12. where occur
these words: Lastly, when I say that God is present to
all things by his Omnipotency, (and consequently to all
the parts of the Matter) I do not deny but that also by
his Essence or Substance he is present to them: For all

those things in God are one and the same.

Dost thou hear, my Nullibist, what one of the chiefest of thy Condisciples and most religious Symmysts of that stupendious fecret of Nullibism plainly professes, namely, that God, is present to all the parts of Matter by his Essence also, or Substance? And yet you in the mean while blush not to affert, that neither God, nor any created Spirit is any where; than which nothing more contradictious can be spoke or thought, or more abhorring from all reason. Wherefore whenas the Nullibists come fo near to the truth, it feems impossible they should, fo all of a sudden, start from it, unless they were blinded with a superstitious admiration of Des Cartes his Metaphysicks, and were deluded, esfascinated and befooled with his jocular Subtilty and prestigious Abstractions there: For who in his right wits can acknowledge that a Spirit by its Essence may be present to Matter, and yet be no where, unless the Matter were nowhere also? And that a Spirit may penetrate, possess, and actuate some determinate Body, and yet not be in that Body? In which if it be, it is plainly necessary it be somewhere.

And

And yet the same Ludovicus de la Forge does manifestin affert, that the Body is thus possest & actuated by the Soul in his Preface to his Treatise de Mente Humana, while he declares the Opinion of Marsilius Ficinus concerning the manner how the Soul actuates the Body in Marsilius his own words, and does of his own accord affent to his What therefore do these Forms to the Body when they communicate to it their Ese? They throughly penetrate it with their Essence, they bequeath the Vertue of their Essence to it. But now whereas the Esse is deduced from the Essence, and the Operation flows from the Vertue, by conjoining the Essence they impart the Ese, by bequeathing the Vertue they communicate the Operations; fo that out of the congress of Soul and Body, there is made one Animal Effe, one Operation. Thus he. The Soul with her Essence penetrates and pervades the whole Body, and yet is not where the Body is, but no where in the Universe!

With what manifest repugnancy therefore to their other Assertions the Nullibists hold this ridiculous Conclusion, we have sufficiently seen, and how weak their chiefest prop is, That whatever is Extended is Material; which is not only consuted by irrefragable Arguments, Chap. 6, 7. and 8. Enchirid. Metaphys. but we have here also, by so clearly proving that all Spirits are somewhere, utterly subverted it, even from that very Concession or Opinion of the Nullibists themselves, who concede or aver, that whatsoever is somewhere is extended. Which Spirits are and yet are not Material.

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#### SECT. VII.

The more light reasonings of the Nullibists whereby they would confirm their Opinion. The sirst of which is, That the Soul thinks of those things which are nowhere.

But we shall not pass by their more slight reason-ings in so great a matter, or rather so monstrous. Of which the first is, That the Mind of Man thinks of fuch things as are nowhere, nor have any relation to place, no not so much as to Logical place or Ubi. Of which fort are many truths as well Moral as Theological and Logical, which being of such a nature that they are nowhere, the Mind of Man which conceives them is neceffarily nowhere also. But how crazily and inconsequently they collect that the humane Soul is nowhere, for that it thinks of those things that are nowhere, may be apparent to any one from hence, and especially to the Nullibists themselves; because from the same reason it would follow that the Mind of Man is somewhere, because fometimes, if not always in a manner, it thinks of those things which are somewhere, as all Material things are. Which yet they dare not grant, because it would plainly follow from thence, according to their Doctrine, that the Mind or Soul of Man were extended, and so would become corporeal and devoid of all Cogitation. But besides, These things which they say are nowhere, namely, certain Moral, Logical, and Theological Truths, are really Somewhere, viz. in the Soul it felf which conceives them; but the Soul is in the Body, as we proved above. Whence it is manifest that the Soul and those Truths which she conceives are as well somewhere as the Body it I grant that some Truths as they are Representations, neither respect Time nor Place in whatever sence. But as they are Operations, and therefore Modes of some Subject or Substance, they cannot be otherwise conceived than in some substance. And forasmuch as there is no **fubstance** 

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fubstance which has not some amplitude, they are ina substance which is in some sort extended; and so by reason of their Subject they are necessarily conceived to be somewhere, because a Mode is inseparable from a Substantial.

ject,

Nor am I at all moved with that giddy and rash tergiversation which some betake themselves to here, who fay we do not well in distinguishing betwixt Cogitation (fuch as are all conceived verities) and the Substance of the Soul cogitating: For cogitation it felf is the very Sub. stance of the Soul, as Extension is of Matter; and that therefore the Soul is as well nowhere as any Cogitation, which respects neither time nor place, would be, if it were found in no Subject. But here the Nullibists, who would thus escape, do not observe, that while they acknowledge the Substance of the Soul to be Cogitation, they therewithal acknowledge the Soul to have a Substance, whence it is necessary it have some amplitude. And besides, This Assertion whereby they affert Cogitation to be the very substance of the Soul, is manifestly false. For many Operations of the Soul, are, as they Speak, Specifically different; Which therefore succeeding one after another, will be fo many Substances speci-And so the Soul of Socrates will not alfically different. ways be the same specifical Soul, and much less the same numerical; Than which what can be imagined more delirant, and more remote from common fenfe?

To which you may add, That the Soul of man is a permanent Being, but her Cogitations in a flux or succession; How then can the very substance of the Soul be its successive Operations? And when the Substance of the Soul does so perpetually cease or perish, what I beseech you will become of Memory? From whence it is manifestly evident, that there is a certain permanent Substance of the Soul, as much distinct or different from her succeeding Cogitations, as the Matter it self is from its succeeding Cogitations, as the Matter it felf is from its succeeding Cogitations.

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#### SECT. VIII.

The second reason of the Nullibists, viz. That COGI-TATION is easily conceived without EXTEN-SION.

THE fecond Reason is somewhat co-incident with some of shose we have already examined; but it is briefly proposed by them thus; There can be no conception, no not of a Logical Place, or Ubi, without Extension. But Cogitation is easily conceived without conceiving any Extension: Wherefore the Mind cogitating, exempt from all Extension, is exempt also from all Locality whether Physical or Logical; and is so loosened from it, that it has no relation nor applicability thereto. As if those things had no relation nor applicability to other certain things without which they might be conceived.

The weakness of this argumentation is easily deprehended from hence, That the Intenseness of heat or motion is confidered without any respect to its extension; and yet it is referred to an extended Subject, viz. To a Bullet shot, or red hot Iron. And though in intent and defixed thoughts upon some either difficult or pleasing Object, we do not at all observe how the time passeth; nor take the flightest notice of it, nothing hinders notwithstanding but those Cogitations may be applied to time, and it be rightly faid, that about fix a Clock, Suppose, in the Morning they began, and continued till Eleven; and in like manner the place may be defined where they were conceived, viz. within the Walls of fuch an ones Study, although perhaps all that time this fo fixt Contemplator did not take notice whether he was in his Study, or in the Fields.

And to speak out the matter at once, From the precifion of our thoughts to infer the real precision of separation of the things themselves, is a very putid and pherile K Sophism;

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Sophism; and still the more enormous and wild, to collect also thence, that they have no relation or applicability one to another. For we may have a clear and distinct apprehension of a thing which may be connected with another by an essential Tye, that Tye being not taken notice of, (and much more when they are connected only with a circumstantial one) but not a full and adequate apprehension, and such as sees through and penetrates all the degrees of its Essence with their properties; Which unless a man reach to, he cannot rightly judge of the real separability of any nature from other natures.

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From whence it appears how foully Cartefine has imposed, if not upon himself, at least upon others, when from this mental precision of Cogitation from Extension, he defined a Spirit (fuch as the humane Soul) by Cogitation only, Matter by Extension, and divided all Subfrance into Cogitant and Extended, as into their first spe-Which distribution notwithstanding is cies or kinds. as absonous and absurd, as if he had distributed Animal into Sensitive and Rational. Whenas all Substance is extended as well as all Animals sensitive. But he fixed his Animadversion upon the specifick nature of the humane Soul; the Generical nature thereof, either on purpole or by inadvertency, being not confidered nor taken notice of by him, as hath been noted in Enchiridion Ethicum, lib. 3. cap. 4. fect. 3.

#### SECT. IX.

The third and last Reason of the Nullibists, viz. That the Mind is conscious to her self, that she is nowhere, unless she be disturbed or jogged by the Body.

THE third and last Reason, which is the most ingenious of them all, occurs in Lambertus Velthusius, wiz. That it is a truth which God has insused into the Mind

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Mind it felf, That she is nowhere, because we know by experience that we cannot tell from our spiritual Operations where the Mind is. And for that we know her to be in our Body, that we only perceive from the Operations of Sense and Imagination, which without the Body, or the motion of the Body, the Mind cannot perform. The sence whereof, if guess right, is this; That the Mind by a certain internal fense is conscious to herself that she is nowhere, unless she be now and then disturbed by the motions or joggings of the Body; which is, as I faid, an ingenious prefage, but not true: For it is one thing to perceive herfelf to be nowhere, another not to perceive herfelf to be somewhere. the may not perceive herfelf to be somewhere, though the be somewhere, as the may not take notice of her own Individuality, or numerical Distinction, from all other minds, although she be one Numerical or Individual mind distinct from the rest: For, as I intimated above, such is the nature of the mind of Man, that like the Eye, it is better fitted for the contemplating all other things, than for contemplating itself. And that indeed which is made for the clearly and fincerely feeing other things, ought to have nothing of it felf actually perceptible in it, which it might mingle with the perception of those other things. From whence the Mind of Man is not to have any stable and fixt sense of its own Essence; and such as it cannot easily lay aside upon occasion: And therefore it is no wonder, whenas the Mind of Man can put off the fense and consciousness to it self of its own Essence and Individuality, that it can put off also therewith the sense of its being somewhere, or not perceive it; whenas it does not perceive its own Essence and Individuality, (of which Hic & Nunc are the known Characters ) And the chief Objects of the Mind are Universals.

But as the Mind, although it perceives not its Individuality, yet can by reason prove to herself that she is some one Numerical, or Individual Mind, so she can by the

the same means, although she by inward sense perceived not where she is, evince notwithstanding that she is somewhere, from the general account of things, which have that of their own nature, that they are extended, singular, and somewhere. And besides, Velthusius himself does plainly grant, that from the Operations of Sense and Imagination, we know our Mind to be in our Body. How then can we be ignorant that she is somewhere, unless the Body itself be nowhere?

#### SECT. X.

An Appeal to the internal sense of the Mind, if she be not environed with a certain infinite Extension; together with an excitation of the Nullibist out of his Dream, by the sound of Trumpeters surrounding him.

THE Reasons of the Nullibists whereby they endeayour to maintain their Opinion, are sufficiently enervated and subverted. Nor have we need of any Arguments to establish the contrary Doctrine. I will only defire by the bye, that he that thinks his Mind is nowhere, would make trial of his faculty of Thinking; and when he has abstracted himself from all thought or fense of his Body, and fixed his Mind only on an Idea of an indefinite or infinite Extension, and also perceives himfelf to be some particular cogitant Being, let him make trial, I fay, whether he can any way avoid it, but he must at the same time perceive that he is somewhere, namely, within this immense Extension, and that he is environ'd round about with it. Verily, I must ingenuoully confess, that I cannot conceive otherwise, and that I cannot but conceive an Idea of a certain Extension infinite and immoveable, and of necessary and actual Existence: Which I most clearly deprehend, not to have been drawn in by the outward sense, but to be innate and essentially inherent in the Mind it self; and so to be the genuine

genuine object not of Imagination, but of Intellect; and that it is but perversly and without all judgment determined by the Nullibists, or Cartesians, that whatever is extended, is also parlassiv ri, or the Object of Imagination; When notwithstanding there is nothing imaginable, or the Object of Imagination, which is not sense ble: For all Phantasms are drawn from the Senses. But this infinite Extension has no more to do with things that are sensible and fall under Imagination, than that which is most Incorporeal. But of this haply it will be more

opportune to speak elsewhere.

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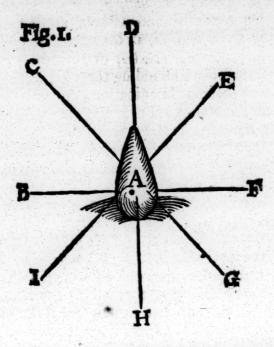
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In the mean time I will fubjoin only one Argument, whereby I may manifestly evince, that the Mind of Man is somewhere, and then I will betake my self to the discusting of the Opinion of the Holenmerians. therefore let us suppose some one environed with a Ring of Trumpeters, and that they all at the same time found their Trumpets. Let us now fee if the circumfonant clangor of those furrounding Trumpets founding from all fides will awake these Nullibists out of their Lethargick Dream. And let us suppose, which they will willingly concede, that the Conarion, or Glandula Pinealis. A, is the feat of the common sense, to which at length all the motions from external Objects arrive. Nor is it any matter whether it be this Conarion, or fome other part of the Brain, or of what is contained in the Brain: But let the Conarion, at least for this bout, fupply the place of that matter which is the common Sensorium of the Soul.

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The true Notion of a Spirit.





And whenas it is supposed to be surrounded with Eight Trumpeters, let there be Eight Lines drawn from them, namely, from B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I; I fay, that the clangour or found of every Trumpet is carried from the Ring of the Trumpeters to the extream part of every one of those Lines, and all those sounds are heard as coming from the Ring B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and perceived in the Conarion A; and that the perception is in that part to which all the Lines of motion, as to a common Centre, do concur; and therefore the extream parts of them, and the perceptions of the Clangours or Sounds, are in the middle of the Ring of Trumpeters, viz. where the Conarion is: Wherefore the Percipient it felf, namely the Soul, is in the midst of this Ring as well as the Conarion, and therefore is somewhere. furedly he that denies that he conceives the force of this Demonstration, and acknowledges that the Perception indeed is at the extream parts of the faid Lines, and in

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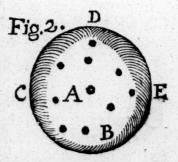
the middle of the Ring of Trumpeters, but contends in the mean time that the Mind her felf is not there, forasmuch as she is nowhere; this man certainly is either delirant and crazed, or elfe plays tricks, and flimly and obliquely infinuates, that the perception which is made in the Conarion is to be attributed to the Conarion itself; and that the Mind, fo far as it is conceived to be an Incorporeal Substance, is to be exterminated out of the Universe, as an useless Figment and Chimæra.

#### SECT. XI.

The Explication of the Opinion of the Holenmerians, together with their Two Reasons thereof proposed.

ND thus much of the Opinion of the Nullibists. A Let us now examine the Opinion of the Holenmerians, whose Explication is thus: Let there be what

Body you please, suppose C, D, E, which the Soul or a Spirit may possess and penetrate. The Holenmerians affirm, that the whole Soul or Spirit does occupy and possess the whole Body C, D, E, by its Essence; and that it is also wholly or all of it in every part or point of the faid Body C, D, E, as in



A, for Example, and in B, and the rest of the least parts or points of it. This is a brief and clear Explica-

tion of their Opinion.

But the Reasons that induce them to embrace it, and fo stiffly to maintain it, are these two only, or at least chiefly, as much as respects the Holenmerism of Spirits. The first is, That whereas they grant that the whole Soul does pervade and possess the whole Body, they thought it would thence follow that the Soul would be

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divisible,

of theirs, by faying, that it was yet so in the whole Body, that it was totally, in the mean time; in every part thereof: For thus they thought themselves sure, that the Soul could not thence be argued in any sort divisible, or corporeal, but still remain purely spiritual.

Their other reason is, I hat from hence it might be easily understood, how the Soul being in the whole Body C, D, E, whatever happens to it in C, or B, it presently perceives it in A; Because the whole Soul being persect y and entirely, as well in C, or B, as in A, it is necessary that after what fashion soever C or B is affected, A should be affected after the same manner; for as much as it is entirely and persectly one and the same thing, viz. the whole Soul, as well in C or B, as in A. And from hence is that vulgar saying in the Schools, That if the Eye were in the Foot, the Soul would see in the Foot.

#### SECT. XII.

The Examination of the Opinion of the Holenmerians.

But I now, according to our custom, let us weigh and examine all these things in a free and just Barlance. In this therefore that they affert, that the whole Soul is in the whole Body, and is all of it penetrated of the Soul by her Essence, and therefore seem willingly to acknowledge a certain essential amplitude of the Soul in this, I say, they come near to us, who contend there is a certain Metaphysical and Essential Extension in all Spirits, but such as is a next one is a period of bulk or parts, as Aristotle defines of his separate substances: For there is no magnitude or bulk which may not be physically divided, nor any parts properly where there is no such division. Whence the Metaphysical Extension of Spirits,

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rightly understood not to be capable of either bulk or erts. And in that sence it has no parts, it cannot justbe faid to be a Whole. In that therefore we plainly agree with the Holenmerians, that a Soul or Spirit may he faid by its Essence to penetrate and possess the whole Body C, D, E; but in this again we differ from them. that we dare not affirm that the whole Spirit or whole Soul does penetrate and possess the said Body, because that which has not parts cannot properly be called a Whole: though I will not over-stiffly contend, but that we may use that word for a more easie explication of our mind. according to that old trite Proverb, Auadiseegy mus eind a sagissees nive, Speak a little more unlearnedly that thou mayest speak more intelligibly or plainly. But then we are to remember that we do not ipeak properly, though more accommodately to the vulgar apprehension, but improperly.

But now when the Holenmerians add further, That the whole Soul is in every part or Physical point of the Body D, C, E, in the point A and B, and all See Figure the rest of the points of which the Body D,

2. Self. 11. C, E, does confift, that feems an harsh expression to me, and such as may justly be deemed next door to an open Repugnancy and Contradiction: For when they fay the whole Soul is in the whole Body D. C, E, if they understand the Essence of the Soul to be commensurate, and as it were equal to the Body D, C, E, and yet at the same time, the whole Soul to be contained within the point A or B, it is manifest that they make one and the fame thing many thousand times greater or less than it self at the same time; which is impossible. But if they will affirm, that the effential Amplitude of the Soul is no bigger than what is contained within the Physical point A, or B; but that the Effential Presence of the Soul is diffused through the whole Body D, C, E, the thing will succeed not a jot the better. For while they plainly profess that the whole Soul is in the point A, it is manifest that there remains nothing of

of the Soul which may be in the point B, which is diffant from A: For it is as if one should say, that there is nothing of the Soul which is not included within A; and yet in the same moment of time, that not only some thing of the Soul, (which perhaps might be a more gentle Repugnancy) but that the whole Soul is in B, as if the whole Soul were totally and entirely out of it self; which surely is impossible in any singular or individual thing. And as for Universals, they are not Things, but

Notions we use in contemplating them.

Again, if the Essential Amplitude of the Soul is no greater than what may be contained within the limits of a Physical point, it cannot extend or exhibit its Essential Presence through the whole Body, unless we imagine in it a stupendious velocity, such as it may be carried with in one moment into all the parts of the Body, and so be present to them: Which when it is so hard to conceive in this scant compages of an humane Body, and in the Soul occupying in one moment every part thereof, What an outragious thing is it, and utterly impossible to apprehend touching that Spirit which perpetually exhibits his Essential Presence to the whole World, and whatever is beyond the World?

To which lastly, you may add, that this Hypothess of the Holenmerians, does necessarily make all Spirits the most minute things that can be conceived: For if the whole Spirit be in every Physical point, it is plain, that the Essential Amplitude it self of the Spirit (which the two former Objections supposed) is not bigger than that Physical point in which it is, (which you may call, if you will, a Physical Monad) than which nothing is or can be smaller in universal Nature: which if you refer to any created Spirit, it cannot but seem very ridiculous; but if to the Majesty and Amplitude of the divine Numen, intolerable, that I may not say plainly re-

proachful and blasphemous.

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#### SECT. XIII.

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A Confutation of the first Reason of the Holenmerians.

DUT now for the Reasons for which the Holenmeri-D ans adhere to so absurd an Opinion; verily they re fuch as can no way compensate those huge difficulties nd repugnancies the Opinion it felf labours under. For, or the first, which so solicitously provides for the Inivisibility of Spirits, it seems to me to undertake a harge either Superfluous or Ineffectual. Superfluous, if Extension can be without Divisibility, as it is clearly denonstrated it can, in that infinite immovable Extension listinct from the movable Matter. Enchirid. Metaphys. ap. 6, 7, 8. But Ineffectual, if all Extension be divisible. and the Effential Presence of a Spirit which pervades and s extended through the whole Body C. D, E, may for that very reason be divided; for so the whole Essence which occupies the whole Body C, D, E, will be divided into parts. No by no means, will you fay, for a fmuch as it is wholly in every part of the Body.

Therefore it will be divided, if I may so speak, into so many Totalities. But what Logical Ear can bear a faying so absurd and abhorrent from all reason, that a Whole should not be divided into parts but into Wholes? But you will fay at least we shall have this granted us, that an Essential Presence may be distributed or divided according to fo many distinctly sited Totalities which occupy at once the whole Body C, D, E, Yes verily, this shall be granted you, after you have demonstrated that a Spirit not bigger than a Physical Monad can occupy in the same instant all the parts of the Body C, D, E; but upon this condition, that you acknowledge not fundry Totalities, but one only total Effence, though the least that can be imagined, can occupy that whole space, and when there is need, occupy, in an instant, an infinite one: Which the Holenmerians must of necessity hold touching

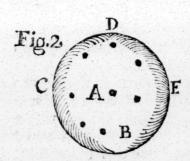
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touching the Divine Essence, because according to their Opinion taken in the second sence, (which pinches the whole Essence of a Spirit into the smallest point) the Divine Essence it self is not bigger than any Physical Monad. From whence it is apparent the three Objections which we brought in the beginning, do again recurbere, and utterly overwhelm the first reason of the Holenmerians: So that the remedy is far more intolerable than the discase.

#### SECT. XIV.

A Confutation of the second Reason of the Holenmerians.

A ND truly the other reason which from this Holenmerism of Spirits pretends a more easie way of



conceiving how it comes to pass that the Soul, suppose in A, can perceive what happens to it in C, or B, and altogether in the same circumstances as if it self were perfectly and entirely in C, or B, when yet it is in A; although at first shews this seems very plausible, yet if

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we look throughly into it, we shall find it far enough from performing what it so fairly promises. For besides that nothing is more difficult, or rather impossible to conceive, than that an Essence not bigger than a Physical point, should occupy and possess the whole Body of a man at the same instant, this Hypothesis is moreover plainly contrary and repugnant to the very Laws of the Souls perceptions: For Physicians and Anatomists with one consent profess, that they have found by very solid Experiments, that the Soul perceives only within the Head,

Head, and that without the Head there is no perception: Which could by no means be, if the Soul herfelf were wholly in the point A, and the very felf-same Soul again wholly in the point B, and C, nor any where as to Essential Amplitude bigger than a Physical Monad: For hence it would follow, that one and the fame thing would both perceive and not perceive at once; That it would perceive this or that Object, and yet perceive nothing at all; which is a perfect contradiction.

And from hence the falfity of that common faying is detected. That if the Eye was in the Foot, the Soul would fee in the Foot; whenas it does not fo much as fee in those Eyes which it already hath, but somewhere within the Nor would the Soul by an Eye in the Foot fee. unless by fitting Nerves, not unlike the Optick ones, continued from the Foot to the Head and Brain, where the Soul so far as perceptive, inhabiteth. In the other parts of the Body the Functions thereof are only vital.

Again, such is the nature of some perceptions of the Soul, that they are fitted for the moving of the Body; fo that it is manifest, that the very felf-same thing which perceives, has the power of moving and guiding of it; Which feems impossible to be done by this Soul, which, according to the Opinion of the Holenmerians, exceeds not the amplitude of a fmall Phyfical point, as it may appear at first fight to any one whose reason is not blin-

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And laftly, If it be lawful for the Mind of Man to give her conjectures touching the Immortal Genii, (whether they be in Vehicles, or destitute of Vehicles) and touching their Perceptions and Effential Prefences, whether invisible, or those in which they are said sometimes to appear to mortal men, there is none furely that can admit that any of these things are competible to such a Spirit as the Holenmerians describe. For how can a Mctaphysical Monad, that is to fay, a Spiritual substance not exceeding a Physical Monad in Amplitude, fill out an Esential Essential Presence bigger than a Physical Monad, unles it be by a very swift vibration of itself towards all parts as Boys by a very swift moving of a Fire-stick, makes fiery Circle in the air by that quick motion. But the Spirits, destitute of Vehicles, should have no greate Essential Presence than what is occupied of a naked and unmoved Metaphysical Monad, or exhibited thereby seems so absonous and ridiculous a spectacle to the Mind of Man, that unless he be deprived of all sagacity and sensibility of spirit, he cannot but abhor so idle an Opinion.

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And as for those Effential Presences, according to which they fometimes appear to men, at least equalizing humane stature, how can a solitary Metaphysical Monad form so great a part of Air or Æther into humane shape, or govern it being so formed? Or how can it perceive any external Object in this swift motion of it felf, and quick vibration, whereby this Metaphysical Monad is understood of the Holenmerians, to be present in all the parts of its Vehicle at once? For there can be no perception of the external Object, unless the Object that is to be perceived act with some stay upon that which perceiveth. Nor if it could be perceived by this Metaphysical Monad thus swiftly moved and vibrated towards all parts at once, would it be feen in one place, but in many places at once, and those, as it may happen, very distant.

#### SECT. XV.

The egregious falsity of the Opinions of the Holenmerians and Nullibilis, as also their uselesness for any Philosophical ends.

But verily, I am ashamed to wast so much time in resulting such meer trisles and dotages, which indeed are such, (that I mean of the Nullibists, as well as this other

other of the Holenmerians) that we may very well wonder how such distorted and strained conceits could ever enter into the minds of men, or by what artifice they have so spread themselves in the World; but that the prejudices and enchantments of Superstition and stupid admiration of mens Persons are so strong, that they may utterly blind the minds of men, and charm them into dotage. But if any one, all prejudice and parts-taking being laid afide, will attentively confider the thing as it is, he shall clearly perceive and acknowledge, unless all belief is to be denied to the humane faculties, that the Opinions of the Nullibists and Holenmerians, touching Incorporeal Beings, are miserable false; and not that only, but as to any Philosophical purpose altogether welefs. Forasmuch as out of neither Hypothesis there does appear any greater facility of conceiving how the Mind of Man, or any other Spirit, performs those Functions of Perception and of Moving of Bodies, from their being supposed nowhere, than from their being suppofed somewhere; or from supposing them wholly in every part of a Body, than from supposing them only, to occupy the whole Body by an Effential or Metaphysical Extension; but on the contrary, that both the Hypotheses do intangle and involve the Doctrine of Incorporeal Beings with greater Difficulties and Repugnancies.

Wherefore, there being neither Truth nor Ufefulness in the Opinions of the Holenmerians and Nullibists, I hope it will offend no man if we fend them quite packing from our Philosophations touching an Incorporeal Being or Spirit, in our delivering the true Idea or No-

tion thereof.

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### SECT. XVI.

That those that contend that the Notion of a Spirit is so difficult and imperscrutable, do not this because they are of a more sharp and piercing Judgment than others, but of a Genius more rude and plebeian.

NOW I have so successfully removed and dissipated those two vast Mounds of Night and Mistiness, that lay upon the nature of Incorporeal Beings, and obscured it with such gross darkness; it remains that we open and illustrate the true and genuine nature of them in general, and propose such a definition of a Spirit, as will exhibit no difficulty to a mind rightly prepared and freed from prejudice: For the nature of a Spirit is very eafily understood, provided one rightly and skilfully shew the way to the Learner, and form to him true Notions of the thing. Infomuch that I have often wondred at the superstitious consternation of mind in those men, (or the profaneness of their tempers and innate aversation from the contemplation of Divine things) who if by chance they hear any one professing that he can with fufficient clearness and distinctness conceive the nature of a Spirit, and communicate the Notion to others, they are presently astartled and amazed at the faying, and straightway accuse the man of intolerable levity or arrogancy, as thinking him to assume so much to himself, and to promise to others, as no humane Wit, furnished with never fo much knowledge, can ever perform. And this I understand even of such men who yet readily acknowledge the Existence of Spirits.

But as for those that deny their Existence, whoever professes this skill to them, verily he cannot but appear a man above all measure vain and doting. But I hope that I shall so bring it about, that no man shall appear more stupid and doting, no man more unskilful and ignorant, than he that esteems the clear Notion of a

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Spirit so hopeless and desperate an attempt; and that I shall plainly detect, that this big and boastful profession of their ignorance in these things does not proceed from hence, that they have any thing more a sharp or discerning Judgment than other mortals, but that they have more gross and weak parts, and a shallower Wit, and such as comes nearest to the superstition and stupidity of the rude vulgar, who easilier fall into admiration and astonishment, than pierce into the reasons and notices of any difficult matter.

#### SECT. XVII.

The Definition of Body in general, with so clear an Explication thereof, that even they that complain of the obscurity of a Spirit, cannot but confess they perfectly understand the nature of Body.

Bil T now for those that do thus despair of any true knowledge of the nature of a Spirit, I would entreat them to try the abilities of their wit in recognizing and throughly considering the nature of Body in general. And let them ingeniously tell me whether they cannot but acknowledge this to be a clear and perspicuous definition thereof, viz. That Body is Substance Material, of it self altogether destitute of all Perception, Life, and Motion. Or thus: Body is a Substance Material coalescent or accruing together into one, by vertue of some other thing, from whence that one by coalition, has or may have Life also, Perception and Motion.

I doubt not but they will readily answer, that they understand all this (as to the terms) clearly and perfectly; nor would they doubt of the truth thereof, but that we deprive Body of all Motion from it self, as also of Union, Life, and Perception. But that it is Substance, that is, a Being subsistent by it self, not a mode of some Being, they cannot but very willingly admit, and that

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Also it is a material Substance compounded of physical Monads, or at least of most minute particles of Matter, into which it is divisible; and because of their Impentrability, impenetrable by any other Body. So that the Essential and Positive difference of a Body is, that it be impenetrable, and Physically divisible into parts: But that it is extended, that immediately belongs to it as it is a Being. Nor is there any reason why they should doubt of the other part of the Differentia, whenas it is solidly and fully proved in Philosophy, That Matter of its own nature, or in it self, is endued with no Perception, Life, nor Motion. And besides, we are to remember that we here do not treat of the Existence of things, but of their intelligible Notion and Essence.

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#### SECT. XVIII.

The perfect Definition of a Spirit, with a full Explication of its Nature through all Degrees.

A ND if the Notion or Essence is so easily understood in nature Corporeal or Body, I do not see but in the Species immediately opposite to Body, viz. Spirit, there may be found the same facility of being understood. Let us try therefore, and from the Law of Opposites let us define a Spirit, an Immaterial Substance intrinsecally endued with Life and the faculty of Motion. This slender and brief Definition that thus easily flows without any noise, does comprehend in general the whole nature of a Spirit; Which left by reason of its exility and brevity it may prove less perceptible to the Understanding, as a Spirit is to the fight, I will fubjoyn a more full Explication, that it may appear to all, that this Definition of a Spirit is nothing inferiour to the Definition of a Body as to clearness and perspicuity. And that by this method which we now fall upon, a full and perfect knowledge and understanding of the nature of a Spirit may be attained to.

Go to therefore, let us take notice through all the degrees of the Definitum, or Thing defined, what precise and immediate properties each of them contain, from whence at length a most distinct and perfect knowledge of the whole Definitum will discover it self. Let us begin then from the top of all, and first let us take notice that a Spirit is Ens, or a Being, and from this very same that it is a Being, that it is also One, that it is True, and that it is Good; which are the three acknowledged Properties of Ens in Metaphysicks, that it exists sometime, and somewhere, and is in some fort extended, as is shewn Enchirid. Metaphys. cap. 2. fect. 10. which three latter terms are plain of themselves. And as for the three former, that One signifies undiftinguished or undivided in and from it felf, but divided or distinguished from all other, and that True denotes the answerableness of the thing to its own proper Idea, and implies right Matter and Form duely conjoyned, and that lastly Good respects the fitness for the end in a large sence, so that it will take in that faying of Theologers, That God is his own End, are things vulgarly known to Logicians and Metaphysicians. That these Six are the immediate affections of Being as Being, is made apparent in the above-cited Enchiridion Metaphysicum; nor is it requisite to repeat the fame things here. Now every Being is either Substance or the Mode of Substance, which some call Accident: But that a Spirit is not an Accident or Mode of Substance, all in a manner profess; and it is demonstrable from manifold Arguments, that there are Spirits which are no fuch Accidents or Modes; Which is made good in the faid Enchiridion and other Treatifes of Doctor H. M.

Wherefore the second Essential degree of a Spirit is, that it is Substance. From whence it is understood to substift by it self, nor to want any other thing as a Subject (in which it may inhere, or of which it may be the Mode or Accident) for its substifting or existing.

The third and last Essential degree is, that it is Im-

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material, according to which it immediately belongs to it, that it be a Being not only One, but one by it felf, or of its own intimate nature, and not by another; that is, That, though as it is a Being it is in some fort extended, yet it is utterly Indivisible and Indiscerpible into real Physical parts. And moreover, That it can penetrate the Matter, and (which the Matter cannot do) penetrate things of its own kind; that is, pass through Spiritual Substances. In which two Essential Attributes (as it ought to be in every perfect and legitimate Distribution of any Genus) it is fully and accurately contrary to its opposite Species, namely, to Body. As also in those immediate Properties whereby it is understood to have Life intrinsecally in it self, and the faculty of moving; which in some sense is true in all Spirits whatsoever, forasmuch as Life is either Vegetative, Sensitive, One whereof at least every Spiritual or Intellectual. Substance hath: as also the faculty of moving; insomuch that every Spirit either moves it felf by it felf, or the Matter, or both, or at least the Matter either mediately or immediately; or laftly, both ways. For so all things moved are moved by God, he being the Fountain of all Life and Motion.

#### SECT. XIX.

That from hence that the Definition of a Body is perspicuous, the Definition of a Spirit is also necessarily perspicuous.

Herefore I dare here appeal to the Judgment and Conscience of any one that is not altogether illiterate and of a dull and obtuse Wit, whether this Notion or Definition of a Spirit in general, is not as intelligible and perspicuous, is not as clear and every way distinct as the Idea or Notion of a Body, or of any thing else whatsoever which the mind of Man can contemplate

template in the whole compass of Nature. And whether he cannot as easily, or rather with the same pains, apprehend the nature of a Spirit as of Body, for smuch as they both agree in the immediate Genus to them, to wit Substance. And the Differentia do illustrate one another by their mutual opposition; insomuch that it is impossible that one should understand what is Material Substance, but he must therewith presently understand what Immaterial Substance is, or what it is not to have Life and Motion of it self, but he must straitway perceive what it is to have both in it self, or to be able to communicate them to others.

#### SECT. XX.

Four Objections which from the perspicuity of the terms of the Definition of a SPIRIT infer the Repugnancy of them one to another.

less haply they may alledge such things as these, That although they cannot deny but that all the terms of the Definition and Explication of them, are sufficiently intelligible, if they be considered single, yet if they be compared one with another they will mutually destroy one another. For this Extension which is mingled with, or inserted into the nature of a Spirit, seems to take away the Penetrability and Indivisibility thereof, as also its faculty of thinking, as its Penetrability likewise takes away its power of moving any Bodies.

I. First, Extension takes away Penetrability; because if one Extension penetrate another, of necessity either one of them is destroyed, or two equal Amplitudes entirely penetrating one another, are no bigger than either one of them taken single, because they are closed with-

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II. Secondly, It takes away Indivisibility; because whatsoever is extended has partes extra partes, one part out of another, and therefore is Divisible: For neither would it have parts, unless it could be divided into them. To which you may further add, that forasmuch as the parts are substantial, nor depend one of another, it is clearly manifest, that at least by the Divine Power they may be separate, and subsist separate one from another.

III. Thirdly, Extension deprives a Spirit of the faculty of thinking, as depressing it down into the same order that Bodies are. And that there is no reason why an extended Spirit should be more capable of Perception than

Matter that is extended.

IV. Lastly, Penetrability renders a Spirit unable to move Matter; because, whenas by reason of this Penetrability it so easily slides through the Matter, it cannot conveniently be united with the Matter whereby it may move the same: For without some union or inherency (a Spirit being destitute of all Impenetrability) is impossible it should protrude the Matter towards any place.

The sum of which Four difficulties tends to this, that we may understand, that though this Idea or Notion of a Spirit which we have exhibited, be sufficiently plain and explicate, and may be easily understood; yet from the very perspicuity of the thing it self, it abundantly appears, that it is not the Idea of any possible thing, and much less of a thing really existing, whenas the parts thereof are so manifestly repugnant one to another.

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#### SECT. XXI.

An Answer to the first of the Four Objections,

I. But against as well the Nullibists as the Hobbians, who both of them contend, that Extension and Matter is one and the same thing, we will prove, that the Notion or Idea of a Spirit which we have produced, is a Notion of a thing possible. And as for the Nullibifts, who think we fo much indulge to corporeal Imagination in this our Opinion of the Extension of Spirits, I hope on the contrary, that I shall shew, that it is only from hence, that the Hobbians and Nullibists have taken all Amplitude from Spirits, because their Imagination is not fufficiently defecated and depurated from the filth and unclean tinctures of Corporeity, or rather that they have their Mind over-much addicted and enflaved to Material things, and so disordered, that she knows not how to expedite her felf from gross Corporeal Phantafms.

From which Fountain have fprung all those difficulties whereby they endeavour to overwhelm this our Notion of a Spirit; as we shall manifestly demonstrate by going through them all, and carefully perpending each of them. For it is to be imputed to their gross Imagination, That from hence that two equal Amplitudes penetrate one another throughout, they conclude that either one of them must therewith perish, or that they being both conjoined together, are no bigger than either one of them taken single. For this comes from hence, that their mind is fo illaqueated or lime-twigged, as it were, with the Idea's and Properties of corporeal things, that they cannot but infect those things also which have nothing corporeal in them with this material Tincture and Contagion, and fo altogether confound this Metaphysical Extension with that Extenfion which is Physical. I say, from this disease it is that the

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the fight of their mind is become so dull and obtuse, that they are not able to divide that common Attribute of a being, I mean Extension Metaphysical from special Extension and Material, and assign to Spirits their proper Extension, and leave to Matter hers. Nor according to that known method, whether Logical or Metaphysical, by intellectual Abstraction prescind the Generical nature of Extension from the abovesaid Species or kinds thereof. Nor laftly, (which is another fign of their obtuseness and dulness) is their mind able to penetrate with that Spiritual Extension into the Extension Material; but like a stupid Beast stands lowing without, as if the mind it felf were become wholly corporeal; and if any thing enter they believe it perishes rather and is annihilated, than that two things can at the fame time co-exist together in the same Vbi. Which are Symptoms of a mind desperately sick of this Corporeal Malady of Imagination, and not fufficiently accustomed or exercised in the free Operations of the Intellectual Powers.

And that also proceeds from the same source, That supposing two Extensions penetrating one another, and adequately occupying the same Ubi, they thus conjoined are conceived not to be greater than either one of them taken by it felf. For the reason of this mistake is, that the Mind incrassated and swayed down by the Imagination, cannot together with the Spiritual Extension penetrate into the Material, and follow it throughout, but only places it felf hard by, and stands without like a gross stupid thing, and altogether Corporeal. For if she could but, with the Spiritual Extension, infinuate her felf into the Material, and so conceive them both together as two really distinct Extensions, it is impossible but that she should therewith conceive them so conjoined into one Ubi, to be notwithstanding not a jot less than when they are separated and occupy an Ubi as big again: For the Extension in neither of them is diminished, but their Situation only changed. As it also sometimes ufe.

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comes to pass in one and the same Extension of some particular Spirits which can dilate and contract their Amplitude into a greater or lesser Ubi, without any Augmentation or Diminution of their Extension, but only by the expansion and contraction of it into another site.

#### SECT. XXII.

That besides those THREE Dimensions which belong to all extended things, a FOURTH also is to be admitted, which belongs properly to SPIRITS.

A N D that I may not dissemble or conceal any thing, Although all Material things, considered in themselves, have three Dimensions only; yet there must be admitted in Nature a Fourth, which sitly enough, I think, may be called Essential Spissitude; Which, though it most properly appertains to those Spirits which can contract their Extension into a less Whi; yet by an easie Analogy it may be referred also to Spirits penetrating as well the Matter as mutually one another: So that whereever there are more Essences than one, or more of the same Essence in the same Whi than is adequate to the Amplitude thereof, there this Fourth Dimension is to be acknowledged, which we call Essential Spissitude.

Which assuredly involves no greater repugnancy than what may seem at first view, to him that considers the thing less attentively, to be in the other three Dimensions. Namely, unless one would conceive that a piece of Wax stretched out, suppose, to the length of an Ell, and afterwards rolled together into the form of a Globe, loses something of its former Extension, by this its conglobation, he must confess that a Spirit, neither by the contraction of it self into a less space, has lost any thing of its Extension or Essence, but as in the above-

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faid Wax the diminution of its Longitude is compensated with the augmentation of its Latitude and Profundity; so in a Spirit contracting it self, that in like manner its Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity being lessened, are compensated by Essential Spissitude, which the Spirit acquires by this contraction of it self.

And in both cases we are to remember that the Site is only changed, but that the effence and extension are not

at all impaired.

Verily these things by me are so perfectly every way perceived, so certain and tried, that I dare appeal to the mind of any one which is free from the morbid prejudices of Imagination, and challenge him to try the strength of his Intellectuals, whether he does not clearly perceive the thing to be so as I have defined, and that two equal Extensions, adequately occupying the very same Ubi, be not twice as great as either of them alone, and that they are not closed with the same terms as the Imagination falsy suggests, but only with equal.

Nor is there any need to heap up more words for the folving this first difficulty; whenas what has been briefly said already abundantly sufficeth for the penetrating their understanding who are preposlest with no prejudice: But for the piercing of theirs who are blinded

with prejudices, infinite will not suffice.

#### SECT. XXIII.

An Answer to the second Objection, where the fundamental Errour of the Nullibists, viz. That what soever is extended is the Object of Imagination, is taken notice of.

II. LET us now try if we can dispatch the second disficulty with like success, and see if it be not wholly to be ascribed to Imagination, that an Indiscerpible extension seems to involve in it any contradiction. As if there could be no Extension which has not parts real

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and properly so called into which it may be actually divided, viz. for this reason, that that only is extended which has partes extra partes, which being substantial, may be separated one from another, and thus separate subsist. This is the summary account of this difficulty, which nothing but corrupt imagination supporteth.

Now the first source or fountain of this errour of the Nullibists, is this; That they make every thing that is extended the Object of the Imagination, and every Object of the Imagination Corporeal. The latter whereof undoubtedly is true, if it be taken in a right sence; namely, if they understand such a perception as is either fimply and adequately drawn from external Objects; or by increasing, diminishing, transposing, or transforming of parts (as in Chimera's and Hippocentaurs) is composed of the same. I acknowledge all these Idea's. as they were fometime fome way Objects of Sensation, fo to be the genuine Objects of Imagination, and the perception of these to be rightly termed the operation of Fancy, and that all these things that are thus reprefented, necessarily are to be look'd upon as corporeal, and confequently as actually divisible.

But that all perception of Extension is such Imagination, that I confidently deny. For a funch as there is an Idea of infinite extension drawn or taken in from no external fense, but is natural and essential to the very faculty of perceiving; Which the mind can by no means pluck out of her felf, nor cast it away from her; but if she will rouze her felf up, and by earnest and attentive thinking, fix her animadversion thereon, she will be constrained, whether she will or no, to acknowledge, that although the whole matter of the World were exterminated out of the Universe, there would notwithstanding remain a certain subtile and immaterial extension which has no agreement with that other Material one, in any thing, faving that it is extended, as being fuch that it neither falls under fense, nor is impenetrable, nor can be moved, nor discerped into parts; and that this Idea is not only possible, but necessary, and such as we do not at our pleasure seign and invent, but do find it to be so innate and ingrasted in our mind, that we cannot by any force or artisce remove it thence. Which is a most certain demonstration that all Perception of Extension is not Imagination properly so called.

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Which in my Opinion ought to be esteemed one of the chiefest and most fundamental Errours of the Nullibists, and to which especially this difficulty is to be referred touching an Indiscerpible Extension. For we see they confefs their own guilt, namely, that their Mind is fo corrupted by their Imagination, and so immersed into it, that they can use no other faculty in the contemplation of any extended thing. And therefore when they make use of their Imagination instead of their Intellect in contemplating of it, they necessarily look upon it as an Object of Imagination; that is, as a corporeal thing, and discerpible into parts. For as I noted above, the fight of their mind by reason of this Morbus uncers'is, this materious Disease, if I may so speak, is made so heavy and dull, that it cannot diffinguish any Extension from that of Matter, as allowing it to appertain to another kind, nor by Logical or Metaphysical Abstraction prefeind it from either.

#### SECT. XXIV.

That Extension as such includes in it neither Divisibility nor Impenetrability, neither Indivisibility nor Penetrability, but is indifferent to either two of those properties.

A ND from hence it is that because a thing is extended, they presently imagine that it has partes extra partes, and is not Ensumm per se on non per aliud, a Being one by it self, and not by vertue of another, but so framed from the juxta-positions of parts. Whenas the Idea of Extension precisely considered in it self includes

cludes no fuch thing, but only a trinal Distance or solid Amplitude, that is to say, not linear only and superficiary, (if we may here use those terms which properly belong to magnitude Mathematical) but every way running out and reaching towards every part. This Amplitude surely, and nothing beside, does this bare and simple Extension include, not Penetrability nor Impenetrability, nor Divisibility, nor yet Indivisibility, but to either affections or properties, or if you will Essential Differences, namely, to Divisibility and Impenetrability, or to Penetrability and Indivisibility, if considered in it self, it is altogether indifferent, and may be determined to either two of them.

Wherefore, whereas we acknowledge that there is a certain Extension namely Material, which is endued with fo ftout and invincible an 'Aγτιτυπία or Impenetrability, that it necessarily and by an insuperable Renitency expels and excludes all other Matter that occurs and attempts to penetrate it, nor suffers it at all to enter, although in the simple Idea of Extension, this marvellous virtue of it is not contained, but plainly omitted, as not at all belonging thereto immediately and of it felf; why may we not as eafily conceive that another Extenfion, namely, an Immaterial one, though Extension in it felf include no fuch thing, is of fuch a nature, that it cannot by any other thing, whether Material or Immaterial, be discerped into parts; but by an indissoluble. necessary and essential Tie, be so united and held together with it felf, that although it can penetrate all things, and be penetrated by all things, yet nothing can so insinuate it felf into it as to disjoyn any thing of its Essence any where, or perforate it, or make any hole or Pore in it? that is, that I may speak briefly, What hinders but there may be a Being that is immediately One of its own nature, and not held together into one by vertue of fome other, either Quality or Substance? although every Being as a Being is extended, because Extension in its precise Notion does not include any Physical Division,

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#### SECT. XXV.

That every thing that is extended has not parts Physically discerpible, though Logically or Intellectually divisible.

FOR it is nothing which the Nullibists here alledge, while they fay, That all Extension inferreth parts, and all parts Division. For besides that the first is false, forasmuch as Ens unum per se, a Being one of it self, or of its own immediate nature, although extended yet includes no parts in its Idea, but is conceived according to its proper Essence as a thing as simple as may be, and therefore compounded of no parts: We answer moreover, that it is not at all prejudicial to our cause though we should grant that this Metaphysical Extension of Spirits is also divisible, but Logically only, not Physically, that is to fay, is not discerpible. But that one should adjoin a Physical divisibility to such an Extension, surely that must necessarily proceed from the impotency of his Imagination, which his Mind cannot curb, nor separate her felf from the dregs and corporeal foulnesses thereof; and hence it is that she tinctures and infects this pure and Spiritual Extension with Corporeal Properties. But that an extended thing may be divided Logically or Intellectually, when in the mean time it can by no means be discerped, it sufficiently appears from hence, That a Physical Monad which has some Amplitude, though the least that possible can be, is conceived thus to be divided in a Line confifting of any uneven number of Monads, which notwithstanding the Intellect divides into two equal parts. And verily in a Metaphysical Monad, such as the Holenmerians conceit the Mind of Man to be, and to possess in the mean time and occupy the whole Body, there may be here again made a Logical Distribution, suppose, Suppose, è subjectis, as they call it, so far forth as this Metaphysical Monad, or Soul of the Holenmerians is conceived to posses the Head, or Trunk, or Limbs of the Body. And yet no man is so delirant as to think that it follows from thence, that such a Soul may be discerped into so many parts, and that the parts so discerped may subsist by themselves.

#### SECT. XXVI.

An Answer to the latter part of the second Objection, which inferreth the separability of the parts of a Substantial Extensum, from the said parts being Substantial and independent one of another.

Rom which a fufficiently fit and accommodate Anfwer may be fetched to the latter part of this difficulty, namely, to that, which because the parts of Substance are Substantial and independent one of another, and subsisting by themselves (as being Substances) would infer that they can be discerped, at least by the Divine Power, and disjoined, and being so disjoined, subfift by themfelves. Which I confess to be the chief edge or sting of the whole difficulty, and yet fuch as I hope I shall with ease file off or blunt. For first, I deny that in a thing that is absolutely One and Simple as a Spirit is, there are any Physical parts, or parts properly so called, but that they are only falfly feigned and fancied in it, by the impure Imagination. But that the Mind it felf being fufficiently defecated and purged from the impure dreggs of fancy, although from some extrinsecal respect she may consider a Spirit as having parts, yet at the very same time does she in her felf, with close attention, observe and note, that such an Extension of it self has none. And therefore whenas it has no parts it is plain it has no substantial parts, nor independent one of another, nor subsistent of themselves.

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And then as much as concerns those parts which the stupid and impotent Imagination fancieth in a Spirit, it does not follow from thence, because they are Substantial, that they may subsist separate by themselves. For a thing to subsist by it self, only signifies so to subsist, that it wants not the Prop of some other Subject in which it may inhere as Accidents do. So that the parts of a Spirit may be said to subsist by themselves, though they cannot subsist separate, and so be substance still.

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#### SECT. XXVII.

That the mutual Independency of the parts of an extended Substance may be understood in a twofold sence; with an Answer thereto, taken in the sirst sence thereof.

But I what they mean by that mutual Independency of parts I do not fully understand: But I sufficiently conceive that one of these two things must be hinted thereby, viz. Either that they are not mutual and essential causes to one another of their Existing, or that their Existence is understood to be connected by no ne-

ceffary condition at all.

And as for the former sense, I willingly confess those parts which they fancy in a Spirit, are not mutual causes of one anothers Existence; but so, that in the mean time I do most firmly deny, that it will thence follow that they may be discerped, and thus discerpt, be separately conserved, no more than the Intelligible parts of a Physical Monad which is divided into two by our Reason or Intellect; which surely are no mutual causes of one anothers Existence: or the Members of the Distribution of a Metaphysical Monad, according to the Doctrine of the Holenmerians (viz. The Soul totally being in every part of the Body) which no man in his wits can ever hope that they may be discerped, although the said Members of the division are not the mutual causes

of one anothers Existence: For they are but one and the fame Soul which is not the cause of it self, but was wholly

and entirely caufed by God.

But you will say that there is here manifestly a reason extant and apparent why these Members of the Distribution cannot be discerped, and discerpt separately conferved, because one and the same indivisible Monad occurs in every Member of the Distribution, which therefore fince it is a fingle one, it is impossible it should be discerped from it self. To which I on the other side answer, That it is as manifestly extant and apparent how frivolously therefore and ineptly Arguments are drawn from Logical or Intellectual Divisions, for the concluding a real feparability of parts. And I add further, That as that fictitious Metaphysical Monad cannot be discerped or pluckt in pieces from it self, no more can any real Spirit, because it is a thing most simple and most absolutely One, and which a pure Mind darkened and possessed with no prejudices of Imagination does acknowledge no real parts at all to be in. For so it would ipso facto be a compound Thing.

#### SECT. XXVIII.

An Answer to the Independency of parts taken in the second sence.

FROM whence an easie entrance is made to the answering this difficulty understood in the second sence of the mutual Independency of the parts of a Spirit, whereby their co-existence and union are understood to be connected by no necessary Law or Condition. For that this is false, I do most constantly affirm without all demur: For the co-existences of the parts, as they call them, of a Spirit, are connected by a Law or Condition absolutely necessary and plainly essential; Forasmuch as a Spirit is a most simple Being, or a Being unum per se of non

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non per aliud; that is, one of it self or of its own nature immediately fo, and not by another either Substance or Quality. For none of those parts, as the Nullibists call them, can exist but upon this condition, that all jointly and unitedly exist together; which Condition or Law is contained in the very Idea or nature of every Spirit. Whence it cannot be created or any way produced unless upon this condition, that all its parts be inseparably and indiffer pibly one; as neither a Rectangle Triangle, unless upon this condition, that the powers of the Cathetus and Basis, be equal to the power of the Hypotenufa. Whence the Indiscerpibility of a Spirit cannot be removed from it, no not virtute Divina, as the Schoolmen fpeak, no more than the above-faid Property be difjoined from a Rectangle Triangle. Out of all which I hope it is at length abundantly clear, that the Extension of a Spirit does not at all hinder the Indiscerpibility thereof.

#### SECT. XXIX.

An Answer to the third Objection touching the Imperceptivity of an extended Substance, viz. That whatever is, is extended, and that the NULLIBISTS and HOLENMERIANS themselves cannot give a Reason of the perceptive Faculty in Spirits, from their Hypotheses.

III. OR is it any lett (which is the third thing) to the faculty of Perceiving and Thinking in Spirits: For we do not thrust down a Spirit by attributing Extension to it, into the rank of Corporeal Beings, for a function as there is nothing in all Nature which is not in some sense extended. For whatever of Essence there is in any thing, it either is or may be actually present to some part of the matter, and therefore it must either be extended or be contracted to the narrowness of a point, and

and be a meer nothing. For, as for the Nullibists and Holenmerians, the Opinions of them both are above utterly routed by me, and quite subverted and overturned from the very root, that no man may seek subtersuges and lurking holes there. Wherefore there is a necessity that something that is extended have Cogitation and Perception in it, or else there will be nothing lest that has.

But for that which this Objection further urges, that there occurs no reason why an extended Spirit should be more capable of Perception than extended Matter, it is verily, in my judgment, a very unlearned and unskilful argutation. For we do not take all this pains in demonstrating the Extension of a Spirit, that thence we might fetch out a reason or account of its faculty of perceiving, but that it may be conceived to be some real Being and true Substance, and not a vain Figment, such as is every thing that has no Amplitude and is in no fort extended.

But those that so stickle and sweat for the proving their Opinion, that a Spirit is nowhere, or is totally in every part of that Ubi it occupies, they are plainly engaged of all right, clearly and distinctly to render a reason out of their Hypothesis of the Perceptive faculty that is acknowledged in Spirits; Namely, that they plainly and precisely deduce from hence, because a thing is nowhere, or totally in every part of the Ubi it occupies, that it is necessarily endued with a faculty of perceiving and thinking; so that the reason of the conjunction of properties with the Subject, may be clearly thence understood.

Which notwithstanding I am very consident, they can never perform; And that Perception and Cogitation are the immediate Attributes of some Substance; and that therefore, as that Rule of Prudence, Enchirid. Ethic. lib. 3. cap. 4. sect. 3. declares, no Physical reason thereof ought to be required, nor can be given, why they are in the Subject wherein they are found.

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## SECT. XXX.

That from the Generical nature of any Species, no reason is to be fetcht of the conjunction of the Essential Difference with it, it being immediate.

DUT so we are to conclude, that as Substance is D immediately divided into Material and Immaterial, or into Body and Spirit, where no reason can be rendred from the Substance in Spirit, as it is Substance, why it should be Spirit rather than Body; nor from Substance in a Body, as it is Substance, why it should be Body rather than Spirit; But these Effential Differences are immediately in the Subject in which they are found: So the case stands in the subdivision of Spirit into meerly Plastical and Perceptive, supposing there are Spirits that are meerly Plastical; and then of a Perceptive Spirit into meerly Sensitive and Intellectual. For there can be no reason rendred touching a Spirit as a Spirit in a Spirit meerly Plastical, why it is a Spirit meerly Plastical rather than Perceptive : Nor in a Perceptive Spirit, why it is a Perceptive Spirit rather than meerly Plastical. And lastly, in a Perceptive Spirit Intellectual, why it is Intellectual rather than meerly Sensitive; and in the meerly Sensitive Spirit, why it is fuch rather than Intellectual. But these Essential Differences are immediately in the Subjects in which they are found, and any Physical and intrinfecal reason ought not to be asked, nor can be given why they are in those Subjects, as I noted a little above out of the faid Enchiridion Ethicum.

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#### SECT. XXXI.

That although the Holenmerians and Nullibists can give no reason, why that which perceives should be TO-TALLY in every part, or should be NOWHERE rather than be in any sort extended or somewhere, yet there are reasons obvious enough, why an extended Spirit, rather should perceive than extended Matter.

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But Thowever, though we cannot render a reason why this or that Substance as Substance, be a Spirit rather than Body; or why this or that Spirit be Perceptive rather than meerly Plastical; yet as the reason is sufficiently plain, why Matter or Body is a Substance rather than Accident, so it is manifest enough why that which Perceives, or is Plastical, should be a Spirit rather than Matter or Body; which surely is much more than either the Holenmerians or Nullibists can vaunt of. For they can offer no reason why that which perceives should rather be nowhere than somewhere; or totally in each part of the Obi it does occupy, than otherwise, as may be understood from what we have said above.

But now fince the Matter or Body which is discerpible and Impenetrable is destitute of it self of all Life and Motion, certainly it is confonant to reason, that the Species opposite to Body, and which is conceived to be Penetrable and Indiscerpible, should be intrinsecally endued with Life in general and Motion. And whenas Matter is nothing else than a certain stupid and loose congeries of Physical Monads, that the first and most immediate opposite degree in this indiscerpible and penetrable Substance, which is called Spirit, should be the faculty of Union, Motion, and Life, in which all the Sympathies and Synenergies which are found in the World may be conceived to confift. From whence it ought not at all to feem strange, that that which is Plastical should be a Spirit.

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And now as for Perception it felf, undoubtedly all Mortals have either a certain confused presage, or more precise and determinate Notion, that as that, whatever it is in which the abovesaid Sympathies and Synenergies immediately are, so more especially that to which belongs the faculty of Perceiving and Thinking is a thing of all things the most subtile and most One that may be.

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Wherefore I appeal here to the Mind and judgment of any one, whether he can truly conceive any thing more Subtile or more One than the Essence or Notion of a Spirit as it is immediately distinguished from Matter, and opposed thereto. For can there be any thing more One than what has no parts, into which it may be discerped? or more Subtile than what does not only penetrate Matter, but it self, or at least other Substances of its own kind? For a Spirit can penetrate a Spirit, though Matter cannot penetrate Matter.

There is therefore in the very Essence of a Spirit, although it be Metaphysically extended, no obscure reason why all the Sympathies and Synenergies, why all Perceptions and all manner of Cogitations should be referred rather to it, by reason of the Unity and Subtilty of its nature, than to Matter, which is so crass, that it is impenetrable; and is so far from unity of Essence, that it consists of juxta-posited parts. But I hope by this I have abun-

dantly fatisfied this third difficulty.

#### SECT. XXXII.

An Answer to the fourth Objection as much as respects the HOLENMERIANS and NULLIBISTS, and all those that acknowledge that the Matter is created of God.

IV. LET us go on therefore to the Fourth and last, which from the Penetrability of a Spirit concludes its unfitness for moving of Matter. For it cannot move

move Matter, but by impelling it; nor can it impel it, because it does so easily, without all resistence, penetrate it. Here therefore again, Imagination plays her tricks, and measures the nature of a Spirit by the Laws of Matter, fancying a Spirit like some Body passing through an over-large or wide hole, where it cannot flick by

reason of the laxness of the passage.

But in the mean time, it is to be noted, that neither the Holenmerians nor Nullibists can of right object this difficulty to us, whenas it is much more incredible, that either a Metaphysical Monad, or any Essence that is no where, should be more fit for the moving Matter, than that which has some Amplitude, and is present also to the Matter that is to be moved. Wherefore we have now only to do with fuch Philosophers as contend that the whole Universe consists of Bodies only: For as for those that acknowledge there is a God, and that Matter was created by him, it is not hard for them to conceive, that there may be a certain faculty in the Soul, which in some manner, though very shadowishly anfwers to that Power in God of creating Matter; Namely, that as God, though the most pure of all Spirits, yet creates Matter the most gross of all things; so created Spirits themselves may emit a certain Material Vertue, either spontaneously or naturally, by which they may intimately inhere in the Subject Matter, and be fufficiently close united therewith. Which faculty of Spirits in the Appendix to the Antidote against Atheism, is called илотавна, the Hylopathy of Spirits, or a Power of affecting or being affected by the Matter. But I confess that Answer is less fitly used when we have to do with those who deny the Creation of Matter, and much more when with those that deny there is a God.

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#### SECT. XXXIII.

An Answer to these that think there is nothing in the Universe but Matter or Body.

Herefore, whenas we have to do with fuch in-fense Adversaries, and so much estranged from all knowledge and acknowledgment of Incorporeal Things, verily we ought to behave our selves very cautiously and circumspectly, and something more precisely to consider the Title of the Question, which is not, Whether we can accurately difcern and declare the mode or way that a Spirit moves Matter, but whether its Penetrability is repugnant with this faculty of moving Matter. But now it is manifest, if a Spirit could be united, and as it were cohere with the Matter, that it might easily move Matter; for a smuch as if there be at all any fuch thing as a Spirit, it is according to the common Opinion of all men to be acknowledged the true Principle and Fountain of all Life and Motion. Wherefore the hinge of the whole controversie turns upon this one pin, Whether it be repugnant that any Spirit should be united and as it were cohere with Matter, or by whatever firmness or fastening (whether permanent or momentaneous) be joined therewith.

Now that it is not repugnant, I hope I shall clearly demonstrate from hence, that the unition of Spirit with Matter, is as intelligible as the unition of one part of Matter with another. For that ought in reason to be held an Axiome firm and sure, That that is possible to be, in which there is found no greater (not to say less) difficulty of so being, than in that which we really find to be. But we see one part of Matter really and actually united with another, and that in some Bodies with a firmness almost invincible, as in some Stones and Metals, which are held to be the hardest of all Bodies. But we will for the more sully understanding the business, suppose a

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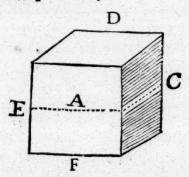
Body absolutely and perfectly hard, constituted of no Particles, but the very Physical Monads themselves, and

without all pores.

I ask therefore here, By what vertue, or by what manner of way do the parts of so perfect a Solid cohere? Undoubtedly they can alledge nothing here besides immediate contact and rest: For if they sly to any other affections which are allied to Life and Sense, they are more rightly and more easily understood to be in a Spirit than in Matter; and we will presently pronounce that a Spirit may adhere to Matter by the same vertues.

But that the parts of Matter cohere by bare though immediate contact, seems as difficult, if not more difficult, than that a Spirit penetrating Matter should cleave together into one with it: For the contact of the parts of Matter is every where only superficial, but one and the same indiscerpible Spirit penetrates and possesses the whole Matter at once.

Nor need we fear at all, that it will not inhere because it can so easily slide in, and therefore as it may feem, slide through, and pass away.



For in a Body perfectly folid, suppose A, in which we will conceive some particular Superficies, suppose E, A, C; this Superficies E, A, C, is assuredly so glib and smooth, that there can be nothing imagined more smooth and glib: Wherefore why does not the upper part of this folid Cube C, D, E, by any the slightest impulse slide

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flide upon the inferiour part of the Cube E, F, C, especially if the inferiour part E, F, C, be held fast, while the superior is impelled or thrust forward? Surely this easiness of the sliding of Bodies perfectly smooth and glib, which touch immediately one another, their easinefs, I fay, of fliding one upon another, does feem at least as necessary to our Imagination, as the proclivity of the passing of a Spirit through the Bodies it penetrates. Wherefore if two parts of Matter, Suppose E, D, C, and E, F, C, which our Imagination doth most urgently fuggest to us that they will always with the least impulse slide one upon another, do yet notwithstanding adhere to one another with a most firm and almost invincible union, why may not then a Spirit, which our Imagination suspects will so easily pass through any Body, be united to a Body with equal firmness? whenas this is not more difficult than the other, yea rather much more easie if one would consider the thing as it is, laying aside all prejudice. But now since the Penetrability of a Spirit is not repugnant with its union with Matter, it is manifest, that its faculty of moving Body is not at all repugnant with its Penetrability. Which is the thing that was to be demonstrated.

But it half repents me that I have with so great preparation and pomp attacked so small a difficulty, and have striven so long with meer Elusions and prestigious Juggles of the Imagination, (which casts such a Mist of sictitious Repugnancies on the true Idea of a Spirit) as with so many Phantomes and Spectres of an unquiet Night. But in the mean time I have made it abundantly manifest, that there are no other Contradictions or Repugnancies in this our Notion of a Spirit, than what the minds of our Adversaries, polluted with the impure dregs of Imagination, and unable to abstract Metaphysical Extension from Corporeal affections, do soully and slovenly clart upon it, and that this Idea lookt upon in it self does clearly appear to be a Notion at least of a thing Possible; which is all that we drive at in this place.

#### SECT. XXXIV.

How far the Notion of a Spirit here defended is counted nanced and confirmed by the common suffrage of all Adversaries.

ND that it may appear more plausible, we will not omit in the last place to take notice, how far it is countenanced and confirmed by the common suffrage of our Adversaries: For the Hobbians, and whatever other Philosophers else of the same stamp, do plainly assent to us in this, That whatsoever really is, is of necessity extended. But that they hence infer, that there is nothing in Nature but what is Corporeal, that truly they do very unskilfully and inconsequently collect, they by some weakness or morbidness of mind tumbling into so foul an errour. For it is impossible that the mind of Man, unless it were laden and polluted with the dregs and dross of Corporeal Imagination, should suffer it self to sink into such a gross and dirty Opinion.

But that every thing that is, is extended, the Nullibists also themselves seem to me to be near the very point of acknowledging it for true and certain. For they do not dissemble it, but that if a Spirit be somewhere, it necessarily follows that it is also extended. And they moreover grant, that by its Operation it is present to or in the Matter, and that the Essence of a Spirit is not separa-

ted from its Operations.

But that a thing should be, and yet not be any where in the whole Universe, is so wild and mad a vote, and so absonous and abhorrent from all reason, that it cannot be said by any man in his wits, unless by way of sport or some slim jest, as I have intimated above; Whence their case is the more to be pitied, who captivated and blinded with admiration of the chief Author of so absurd an Opinion, do so solemnly and seriously embrace, and diligently endeavour to polish the same.

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## 188 The true Notion of a Spirit?

And lastly, as for the Holenmerians, those of them who are more cautious and considerate, do so explain their Opinion, that it scarce seems to differ an hair breadth from ours. For though they affirm, that the Soul is in every part, yet they say they understand it not of the Quantity or Extension of the Soul, whereby it occupies the whole Body, but of the perfection of its Essence and Vertue: Which however true it may be of the Soul, it is most undoubtedly true of the Divine Numer, whose Life and Essence is most perfect and most full every where, as being such as every where contains

infinite Goodness, Wisdom, and Power.

Thus we see that this Idea or Notion of a Spirit which is here exhibited to the World, is not only possible in it self, but very plausible and unexceptionable, and such as all parties, if they be rightly understood, will be found whether they will or no to contribute to the discovery of the truth and solidity thereof. And therefore is such as will not unusefully nor unseasonably conclude this First Part of Saducismus Triumphatus, which treats of the Possibility of Apparitions and Witchcraft, but make the way more easie to the acknowledgment of the force of the Arguments of the Second Part, viz. The many Relations that are produced to prove the Astual Existence of Spirits and Apparitions.

AN

# ANSWER

TO A

# LETTER

OF A

Learned Psychopyrist

Concerning the true

NOTION

OF A

SPIRIT,

Exhibited in the foregoing

DISCOURSE;

WHEREIN

Both their Notions are compared, and the Notion in the faid Discourse defended, and many things discussed and cleared for more full satisfaction touching the Nature of a SPIRIT.

By HENRY MORE, D.D.

LONDON,
Printed for S. Lownds, M DC LXXXVIII.

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### TO THE

# READER.

READER,

Aving in the foregoing Discourse sufficiently declared, impartially discussed, and as I hope, solidly confuted the opinions of the Holenmerians and Nullibists, thought it not amiss to exhibit also to thy view the opinion of the Psychopyrists, (for so I rather call them than Pneumatopyrists; because the word is more compendious and less sonorous, and may bear the same sense, wixer as well as wrien, signifying Spirare, whence the Latin word Spiritus is, and our English, Spirit. Not to add that all Created Spirits, and they only are here meant, are Jugai in all probability, and actuate some matter or other) I thought sit, I say, to acquaint thee with the opinion of these Psychopyrists, Philosophers that make the Essence or Substance of all created Spirits to be Fire, for so the word Psychopyrists signifies.

It is an opinion which I have had no occasion to meddle with since my Juvenile Altercations with Eugenius Philalethes, which is now many years ago. He being a Chymist made the Soul Fire, as Aristoxenus the Musician and Philosopher, made it an Har-

mony;

### To the READER.

mony; of whom Cicero wittsly observes, Quod non recessit ab arte sua, which is as appositely said of Eugenius the Chymist. I was so considert in those days that no Matter whatever was capable of Cogitation, that whenas that Author avouched the Soul to be Fire, and excused it by adding he meant an Intelligent Fire: I, according to the sportfulness of my Pen at that age, told him, That he might as well have said the Soul was a Post, and then excused it again by adding, he meant an Intelligent Post. Something to that purpose I remember I replyed, for I have not reviewed those Writings this many a year.

But in this Answer, thou art not, Reader, to expect any such Horse-play; neither my age nor the quality of the Party who may seem to have espoused this opinion will bear any such thing. And besides, that opinion is not to be thought so ridiculous and contemptible, which the greatest Wits and gravest Authors may seem to have owned. Virgil the Prince of Poets and a great Platonist, so expresseth himself, as if he held the Soul to the Fire, in these Verses; where speaking of the Souls of men, he says,

Igneus est ollis vigor & Cælestis Origo Seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant Terreniq; hebetant artus moribundaq; membra.

And in another place speaking of the Purgation of Humane Souls after Death, he says they are so and so exercised,

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### To the READER!

Donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe Concretam exemit labem purumq; reliquit, Æthereum sensum atq; aurai simplicis ignem.

Add unto this that the Chaldee and Magick Oratles call the Soul  $\pi \tilde{\nu} p$  quevov, Lucid Fire, and abstain not from pronouncing that all things proceed it in  $\pi \nu e s$ ; from that one Fire, which is God, as if that Spirit of Spirits, or Father of all Spirits were Fire. Nay the Greek Fathers, as he alledges for himself, are so consident of the Notion, that they divide Fire without any more to do into Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, so that it can be no blemish to any ones Reputation to be found amongst such thoice Company.

Besides that, it is to be considered, that he who is here styled Psychopyrist, because he seems to be an Espouser of this Opinion, is not so to be understood as if he made this ordinary, crass and visible Fire the Essence of a Spirit, but that his meaning is more subtile and refined. But what it is, you will best understand by reading the following Answer to his Letter. For this Argument is one remarkable part thereof; and if I be not mistaken, there are several others will occur not unworthy thy consideration, which to partitularize in, is needless, and will swell the gates overproportionately to the City. Wherefore I will detain thee no longer, but leave thee to a Candid perusal of the ensuing Answer, and so bid thee farewel.

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## ANSWER

TO A

# LETTER,

Containing

A Defence of the True Notion of a SPIRIT, delivered in the foregoing Discourse.

#### SECT. I.

That though the Learned Psychopyrist and the Author be agreed in the Fundamentalis Conceptus of a Spirit, that it is a Substance, yet they disagree in the Conceptus Formalis thereof.

SIR,

Have abstained from writing to you till now, because I had a mind to get a Book into my hands to peruse some things in it before I writ, which I got but a day or two ago. But now I shall answer, to avoid all tediousness to you or my felf, with all brevity I can, in the noting where we agree, and where we differ in the Notion of a Spirit in general, or in the adequate definition thereof. For out of the two inadequate Conceptus's, as you call them (and I intend to use your Phrases all along which are such as occur in the Writings

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of Mr. R. B. as the Notions also in your Letter are very like the Notions in Judge Hales's Writings and his ) out of those two Conceptus's I say, one adequate Conceptui does refult, which must reach all Spirits, and none but Spirits, or elfe we miss our mark. Now for the first inadequate Conceptus, which you call Conceptus Fundamentalis, and acknowledge to be Substance, we are both agreed that it is Substance. But the Conceptus Formalis, whereby it is distinguished from all Substance that is not Spirit, that we do not feem to hit on alike. For unless all whatever is, is Spirit, we are to give fuch a Substance to Spirit as is specifically opposite to all other Substance in the Universe, besides it felf, or else we do nothing. Now I demand, whether there be not Matter in the World as well as Spirit, and whether the immediate, known, and univerfally acknowledged Notion of Matter be not real Divisibility and Impenetrability of its parts one to another. This is body or matter according to the common Notion of Philosophers, To Teixi Siasaler avil-TUTOY. And if this be the immediate character of matter, it naturally and logically follows, that the immediate character of its opposite Species, Spirit, must be Indivisibility and Penetrability. And therefore those eslential Characters must be a part of the Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit, whereby it is distinguished from body or matter. So that two Substances, Matter and Spirit, stand oppolite one to another, specifically distinct, by their immediate, essential and inseparable Attributes, the one being really discerpible and impenetrable, the other penetrable, and indifcerpible, fufficiently thus to be discriminated, before we consider any Principle of Activity in either. And thus much being conceded, that there are these two kinds of Substances in the World so described, I appeal to any mans faculties, whether of the two, Spirit, be not the more likely to be the Fountain of all Life and Motion, and Matter a meerly paffive Principle that is to say, unactive of it self, nor moved but as the other Principle moves it, and modifies it. And therefore, that

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that the true Notion of a Spirit in general is, what I have fet down Self. 18. viz. An immaterial (which is, a penetrable and indiscerpible) substance, intrinsecally endued with Life and Motion. Whatever is this, is Spirit, and whatever substance is not this, is no Spirit, but Matter. And that Life and Motion, and Sympathy and Syn-energy should intrinsecally result from a substance that is so much one as to be indiscerpible, and so substance that is so much some as to be indiscerpible, and so substance that is so much some set that is the contrary, how rational it is I-have intimated in Self. 31. which Section is worthones serious consideration and attention.

Thus therefore it is, that though we both agree in the Conceptus Fundamentalis of a Spirit in general, that it is substance, yet we differ in the Conceptus Formalis, in that you miss that part which is first and most immediate in the specification of it, which includes its Penetrability and Indiscerpibility, that which makes it Ens unum per se on non per aliud, which every thing, that is not a Spirit, is, viz. Ens unum per aliud, a thing held together in one by vertue of something else, not immediately of its own essence becoming one, and therefore is discerpible, and one part separable from another.

#### SECT. II.

A threefold faultiness in the Psychopyrists Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit; one of which not only a Mistake, but a Mischief: And of the necessity of a Spirits Penetrability as well as Indiscerpibility; and how natural it is to conceive, that from such a substance do issue the operations of Life.

Herefore your Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit in general, viz. Virtus vitaliter activa, perceptiva, & appetitiva, feems to me faulty upon a threefold account. First, in that it leaves out what is contained in

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the Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit in general, namely its Penetrability and Indiscerpibility. And, Secondly, in that it puts into this Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit more than we can rationally assure our selves to be in every Spirit, viz. Perception: For we have no assurance that a Plastick Spirit has Perception, but may well be assured that quaterus Plastick it has none. Otherwise the Soul would perceive the organization of her own Body. And, thirdly and lastly, I do not easily assent to that conceit of a Trinity in this Conceptus Formalis, which you make to consist in Virtute una-trina, Vitali, Appetitiva, & Perceptiva: Which makes three no more than Animal, Homo, and Brutum make three, or Cupiditas, Desiderium & Fuga.

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But this is but an harmless mistake, but the omission of Immaterial in your Conceptus Formalis, or which is all one, of Penetrability and Indiscerpibilit, is not only a mistake but a mischief, it implying, that the Virtus Appetitiva and Perceptiva, may be in a substance though Material, which betrays much of the succours that Philosophy affords to Religion in the points of the Existence of a God and Immortality of the Soul, if it were true: But that Materia qualitercunque modificata is uncapable of Perception, both the Cartesians all affirm, and I have I

think abundantly demonstrated in my Writings.

In this thing therefore, you and I fundamentally differ, in that you omit, but I include Penetrability and Indiscerpibility in the Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit. So that nothing can be a Spirit that has them not in the fense that I declare. Spirit must be Penetrative of Spirit and of Matter as well as Indiscerpible, else would it be more hard than any Flint; but its Penetrability makes it more pliant and subtile than the subtilest Matter imaginable. And to a substance of such an Oneness and Subtiley is rationally attributed whatever Activity, Sympathy, Synenergy, Appetite, and Perception is found in the World, as I noted above. Here therefore is the most notorious difference betwixt us, in which I am the more concerned, because it is not only a Mistake, but a Mischief, as I said before. But I proceed. SECT.

#### SECT. III.

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ifd, id That he that does not admit a distinction of substance into Material and Immaterial, antecedent to vital powers and operations, cannot pretend out of any vital Virtues or Powers to be better acquainted with Spirit than Matter.

YOU say, you are your self far better acquainted with the nature of a Spirit by that essential Virtus Formalis namely, by that una-trina Virtus abovenamed) than from the Notion of Substantiality. But I demand here, you omitting that part of the Conceptus Formalis which I contend for, how does it appear that you do not entertain matter for the substantiality of this Virtus Formalis, and to embrace a Cloud instead of Juno, some modified body instead of a pure /pirit? No one can pretend to be better acquainted with a Spirit by that una-trina Virtus Formalis, but he that can prove that those Virtues are Incompetible to Matter, and so withal that there are two distinct kinds of Substances in the Universe, Spirit, and Body or Matter, and that opposite Attributes are to be given to these opposite Species, and consequently that Matter or Body being discerpible, a Spirit ought to be indiscerpible, and Body being Impenetrable, according to the common Tenent of Philosophers, Spirits should be Penetrable. And lastly, Matter being dead, and pasfive, Spirit should be the source of life and activity. If this be not an easie, natural, and sound method of Philosophising, I appeal to any ones Judgment.

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SECT.

#### SECT. IV.

What Confusion and Repugnancy it is to make Self-motion or Intrinsick Vitality, part of the Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit, and yet to attribute it to some Matter. And what a slippery business, to put Natures Active and Passive, instead of Immaterial and Material.

DUT say you, And yet I dare not say that a Self-mo. D ving Principle is proper to a Spirit. But Aristotle did not flick to fay fo, who made the matter a meer passive Principle. And furely if a Man will follow the common fentiments of humane Nature, if he acknowledge a Spiritual substance distinct from the material, he will give Activity to the one, and Passivity or Actuability to the other. It is a strange force and distortion to the faculties of the Mind to do otherwise. But you hold on, Nor do I consent to Campanella, De sensu rerum, and Dr. Diffen that would make all things alive by an effentiating form in the very Elements. Here I desire you to consider if any Matter have life and motion in it felf, whether all has not, though variously modified. And whether it be fair play thus, when there is no reason for it, to make Fish of one, and Flesh of another. All the matter of the natural World, the common consent of most Philofophers hath made of one Species, which it would not be if part were felf-moved, part not.

Besides, when you include life, (of which Self-motion certainly is an effect) in the Conceptus Formalis of a spirit; is not this an horrible Consustant on Repugnancy to say, it is not proper to a spirit, and consequently may belong to matter? That which is included in your Conceptus Formalis, which is the specifick difference of the thing, is proper to that thing, and therefore cannot be communicated to another. Wherefore we are to deny Self-motion in the matter it self every-where, as not be-

longing thereto, but to Spirit. But it follows,

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I distinguish Natures into Active and Passibe, and Passibity serveth me as well as Pateriality. But I desire to know, why it should serve your turn as well as Materiality, when as it is of more laxness and uncertainty, and therefore may serve you a slippery trick. But Materiality is a notion more strict, distinct, and steady, and belongs only to one kind of things, that is to say, to things Material, but Passivity to things Immaterial as well as Material. But you hold on.

#### SECT. V.

That the Learned Psychopyrist need not be in despair of knowing whence the Descensus gravium is, whether from an innate Principle in the heavy Bodies themselves, or from some Spirit, sith the Author of the Discourse touching the True Notion of a Spirit, has so plainly demonstrated the latter in his Writings.

BUT whence the Descensus grabium is, I despair of knowing. If you mean whether it be from an infiate Principle of the heavy things themselves, or from some Immaterial Principle that moves the Matter of the World, I will adventure to tell you, the thing is not so desperate as you sancy, but bid you be of good courage; For it is demonstrable, that the Descensus gravium is not from any Principle springing from their own Matter, but from an Immaterial Principle, distinct therefrom. Which Principle to be the Mover of the Matter of the Universe, I have over and over again demonstrated in my Enchiridion Metaphysicum. And particularly, which was a main Point betwixt that excellent person Judge Hales and my self, in the rising of a wooden Rundle from the bottom of a Bucket of Water.

I will give you that Instance for many, which I defire you to canvas from the very first rise of it, Enchirid. Metaphys. cap. 13. sect. 4. 7, 8. reading for sureness all

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the Scholia upon that Chapter, Volum. Philosoph. Tom. 1. p. 219, 220, 221, &c. where all the Objections of Christophorus Sturmius are answered, against this Principium Hylarchicum. And if you be not yet fatisfied. which I think it is impossible for any one not to be, that understands what I have writ; read pag. 363. my Ad. notamentum vicesimum in Tentamen de Gravitatione, &c. and my Scholia upon that Adnotamentum, p. 369,370, &c. Where you shall find that excellent person, whose Philofophy notwithstanding much symbolizes with that which you feem to embrace, very handsomly, but covertly to give up the cause and acknowledge my experiment of the two Hydrostatical Buckets to perform the feat they are brought for. See p. 370. 1. 13. and fo on; and if you read all the Scholia till pag. 373. and fet your felf distinctly to understand, you will be convinced whether you will or no.

And that nothing may be wanting to undeceive you, read that little Treatise whose Title is, Philosophematum eruditi Autoris Dissicitium Pugarum de Principiis Motium Naturalium sive de Essentiis mediis, & de mode Rarefactionis & Condensationis Examinatio. Where I answer also to no less than nine or ten Objections of that worthy Author against my Spirit of Nature. And I doubt not but if he had lived to read what I have writ, he would have been wholly of my mind, and relinquished that way of Philosophising, which you as well as he seem to be entangled in, being thus offered more clear

Light. But I hold on with your Letter.

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#### SECT. VI.

That if there be an innate Self-moving principle in the matter of heavy Bodies, their resting when they are come to the Earth, does not excuse them from participating of the Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit. And that there may be as much Vitality in Fixedness, as in Flitting. The vast difference still remaining betwixt the Psychopyrist and the Author of the True Notion of a Spirit, touching the Conceptus Formalis.

ND if it be true, say you, of an innate Principle, A I call it not therefore a Spirit, because it is but Passivorum motus aggregativus ad unionem in quiete, when Spirits Motion is Uttal, and so essential to them, that they tend not to union in Quiescence, but in everlasting Activity; Quiescence in Inactivity being as much against their Nature, as Motion against a Stone's. To which I say, (1.) If the Descensus gravium be from an Innate Principle, that is to fay, that the Matter there moves it felf (and if you are for Essentia media, as the abovementioned Author is, I have abundantly confuted them in my Examination) you adjoyn the Property of a Spirit to Matter, as I noted above, which is a plain Repugnancy, that any part of the Formalis Conceptus of one Species, should be an Attribute in its opposite Species. This breaks in pieces all the bands of Logick. (2) It is not here mere passivorum motus, but heavy Bodies moving themselves, as is supposed; they are as much active as passive, and are no otherwise passive in this point but as they act upon themselves; and Spirits, properly so called, are passive in that sense. So that an heavy Body is made a Mungril kind of thing upon this account, a Chimara or Centaure. For look upon its Self-activity, and it looks like a Spirit, look upon its Materiality (for it is meer Matter, actuating it felf according to this Hypothesis) and it is no other than a Body. (3.) If they be Self-moved, it matters

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matters not to what they tend, Body in the mean time has the property of a Spirit, as I faid before. fourthly and lastly, That Stones and other Bodies re upon the Earth, is not by a torpid Inactivity in them for their torpid Inactivity would not excuse them from being flung off by the circular motion of the Earthon its Poles, as I have plainly demonstrated in my Enchiridion Metaphysicum, but what brings them thither, detains them there, viz. the Hylostatick Spirit of the Universe, whose detaining them is as vital and positive as his bringing them thither. And there is as much Activity in fixedness of thoughts, as in discursive Flitting from one thing to another. Thus mistakenly is that Vital operation given to heavy Bodies, that belongs to the Spirit of the World. And if you conceit this Motion or Fixation in the heavy Bodies themselves, in that they defend themselves from being cast off from the Earth by the diurnal motion thereof, it is as positive Vitality in them, as their descent to the Earth. As there is as much life and vigour required in stopping on the Frets of a Lute above, as in striking below on the Strings. Thus things are, and yet you conclude in the next lines,

So that I think we are agreed of the Formal notice of a Spirit in general, and of an Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative in Specie. That there may be a vegetative Species without Sense; and that there is a sensitive Species without Intellect, and that Eternal Intellect is without Vegetation, I easily grant and am agreed to with you. But there is a vast difference yet betwixt us, in that in the Formalis Conceptus of a Spirit, you leave out Immateriality, or which is the same Penetrability and Indiscerpibility. Which slip, as I said above, is not a meer missake, but a mischief. This is all that I have to note touching your Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit in general.

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#### SECT. VII.

hat Materia and Substantia differ as Genus and Species, and what Substantia properly and adequately is. And that the bare and naked substance of a thing is not knowable neither in this life, nor haply in the life to come. But only Essential Attributes, Habitudes, and Operations.

Assing to the Conceptus Fundamentalis, you say thus. But truly I am at a loss about the Conceptus Fundamentalis, wherein the true difference lyeth between Substania and Materia. Methinks the difference lies very obvious to any observing Eye, namely, that Substania and Materia differ as Genus and Species, so as Animal and Brutnm differ, and you may perfect the division thus, Substance is either Matter or Spirit, as Animal is either Brutum or Homo. I content my felf with fuch ea-

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Do we by Substantia mean a Conceptus Realis, or only Melatibus: To fay it doth substare accidentibus speaks but a Relation directly, and leaves the question unanswered. Quid est quod substat accidentibus? To say it is not an Accident, tells us not what it is, but what it is not. To fay it does subsistere per se, either faith no more than that it is Ens reale, or else tells us not what it is that doth subsift. (1.) As for that relative fignification, we do not here to much regard it. It looks more like that Logical Notion of Subjectum, which relates to Adjunctum. (2.) And though to fay it is no Accident tells us not what it is, but what it is not; yet it illustrates its nature by its opposition, (as that Logical Maxim teacheth us, Contraria juxta se posita magis elucescunt;) The Nature of an Accident being such that it cannot exist but in another; that of a Substance such, that it needs no inhæsion, as an Accident does in another Subject, but sublists by it felf, and stands as it were on its own legs. Phis

This is the proper Character of Substance, quatenus Substance. What can be more plain than this? And a Man is to consider whether it be not a piece of 'Amaufevgia, when so compleat a definition is given, to inquire further, what is that which does subsist by its felf, as if one after he has heard another define Man to be a rational living Creature, should demand, I but, what is that which is a rational living Creature? What can be anfwered but. That it is a Man? And fo when we define Substance to be a Being subsisting by it self, if one demand, but what is that which subsists by it self? What can be answered but that it is Substance? And I will further add out of my Enchiridion Ethicum lib. 3. cap. 4. That it is one of the Rules of Prudence to remember in our Contemplations. Nullius rei intimam nudamve effentiam cognosci posse, sed Attributa tantum essentialia essentialesque Habitudines, which I set down to stear men off from splitting themselves on this Rock; as if by any definition, or any way elfe, they were able to discover the very bare Essence or Substance of any thing. Which I think is the Priviledge of the JEHOVAH Himself only, the only Wife GOD, and great Essentiator of all things. But to perceive the bare Essence of any thing beyond its Attributes, Operations, and Habitudes, is not given to any Creature, as I conceive, either in this World, or in that which is to come. But we'll proceed.

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#### SECT. VIII.

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That words are not to be prescinded from their usual and known signification; and that the meaning of Materia in use includes Impenetrability, Discerpibility, and Self-Inactivity, according to Aristotle, and the best approved Philosophers; With a Note of the specifically distinct Substance of Spirit and Matter antecedently, to the Self-Activity of the one, and the Self-Inactivity of the other.

O Voad Notationem Nominis, say you, distinct from use doth not Materia and Substantia signific the Same Fundamental Conceptus? This question is fomething obscure. I know no Notatio Nominis, but the Interpretation of it from some Logical Topick, which must be in words compound or derivative; but Materia is a word simple. And why should we not take words according to their use, rather than prescind them from it? You would have those two terms fignihe the one no more than the other, or neither more than to what some one distinctive Conceptus Formalis might be joined indifferently. But I say again, they are not one, but differ as Genus and Species, and Materia is the Species of Substantia, and includes in it its own Conceptus Formalis, which is Impenetrability, Discerpibility and Self-Inactivity according to Aristotle and the best approved Philosophers, an opposite Conceptus Formalis to that of Spirit. That is the form or notifying difference of Matter, as Penetrability, Indifcerpibility, and Self-Activity, of Spirit. But you go on.

Tou difference, say you, Substance and Matter antecedently to the formal difference by Penetrability and Impenetrability, Indivisibility and Divisibility. Here, say I, you confound Substance and Matter, as if they adequately signified the same, when as according to use in all approvable Philosophy, they differ as Genus and Species:

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Nor does Penetrability and Indivisibility, Impenetrability and Divisibility antecede the whole formal difference of Matter and Spirit, whenas they themselves are part of the Conceptus Formalis, the one of Matter the other of a Spirit; or are the whole Conceptus Formalis of the Specifically distinct substance of each, antecedent to the Astivity of the one, and Inastivity of the other.

#### SECT. IX.

Of the knowledge of the Indivisibility and Penetrability of Spirits in this Life, how far it may extend. And that holy Souls in the other World are no Affectors of useless knowledge.

BUT first, say you, I despair of knowing in this Life how far Spiritual Substances are Penetrable and Indivisible. I grant you such an extension as shall free them from being Nothing Substantial, and from being infinite as God is. It a Man be not in a right method of conceiving or ordering his thoughts, he may be in the like puzzle in the other World that he finds himself in this. But if he consider that God has created a Spirit, Ens unum per se on non per aliud, so that immediately of its own nature, if it be at all, it is Indiscerpible; As a plain Triangle, if it be at all, hath its Angles equal to two right ones, he may safely conclude, even in this Life, that a Spirit is utterly Indiscerpible, so long as it is, but God may annihilate it at his pleasure.

And now for the Penetrability of Spirits, it is evident even in this Life, that they can wholly penetrate one rnother so far as their Essence extends, for one may have a greater amplitude than another. And that the parts, as I may so call them, of the same Spirit may, in the contraction of it self, penetrate one another, so that there may be a Reduplication of Essence through

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the whole Spirit. But as you very well observe with Scaliger before you, a Spirit can neither extend it self in infinitum, nor contract it self in puncti & Sevotuta, into the nullity of a point. And though your modesty make nothing of this, methinks this is sufficient for a Rational Creature, whether here or hereafter, for I do not think that in the other World holy Souls affect useless knowledge. In this therefore, we both, I conceive, do sully agree, that we are neither of us Nullibists nor Holenmerians.

#### SECT. X.

That Inseparably continued Amplitude belongs to Spirits as well as discreet Quantity, with an Answer to the most plausible objection against the same. Whether Forms multiply themselves or no, and in what sence it is true, that Generation is the work of Spirits not Bodies, and by what means many Substances become one.

C Econdly, fay you, we grant Spirits a Quantitas dif-O creta, they are Numerous, Individuate; and Formæ se multiplicant, Generation is the work of Spirits and not of Bodies, and how can I tell that that God that can make many out of one, cannot make many into one, and unite and divide them as well as Matter. This passage is worth our attentive consideration; wherefore I say, (1.) If Quantitus discreta be allowed to Spirits, why may not an Indiscerpible continuance of Amplitude be allowed to You'l reply, it may not, because (and it is them also. one of the most ingenious Allegations that I have met with) that then a Spirit might be measured by a Ruler of Wood or Brass, and be declared to be so many Inches or Foot long or wide, which would argue it not to be a Why? because it is mea-Spirit but Matter or Body. fured by Wood or Brass? What if we should number a certain numerous multitude of Spirits, casting up their numbers

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numbers by Brass Counters, would it follow that these Spirits are Corporeal because the Brass Counters are so? The Reason is as firm in the one as the other, as I have more fully noted elsewhere. (2.) And now for Forme fe multiplicant, I defire to know what is meant by Forma, whether the Accidents or Modes of some Substance or fome Substances actuating other Substances. If the former, it reaches not our case, the Argument being of Spirits that are Substances. And I say, no Substance can multiply it felf, for if Substance remaining still the same entire Substance should multiply into other Substances, it were an act of Creation, which is incompetible to a Creature. But if it shed, or part with part of its own Substance, that in my account is not Multiplication but Division. (3.) That which follows is a found and golden faying, if rightly understood, That Generation is the work of Spirits and not of Bodies, for Body or Matter of it felf is passive, and can do nothing but as it is either mediately or immediately actuated by a Spirit, as Fire, and Water and Air, and all other Bodies that are in motion are actuated, either by the Hylostatick Spirit of the Universe, or by their own proper Spirit, as Brute Animals, Angels, and Men. And thus are all Inanimate Creatures, fo vulgarly styled, Generated by the Spirit of Nature, and all particular Animals, Brutes and Men, are Generated, that is to fay, Formed by their proper Souls, the Spirit of Nature, fo far as it is fitting, preparing the matter, but all in the mean time depending upon that universal Creator of all things, God, bleffed for ever.

But in the last place, how a man may tell that that God that can make many out of one, cannot make many into one, &c. If the meaning be of Substantial Spirits, it has been already noted, that God acting in Nature, does not make many Substances out of one Substance, the same Substance remaining still entire, for then Generation would be Creation. And no sober Man believes, that God assists any Creature so in Natural Course, as to enable

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able it to Create. And then I suppose, that he that believes not this, is not bound to puzzle himself, why God may not as well make many Subitances into one as many out of one, whenas he holds he does not the latter, but that every Substance that is Created, is Created immediately from God. And whatever two or more Substances become one, it is either by Vital subordinate Actuation of the Souls and Bodies of Men that makes one Man, and of the Souls and Bodies of Brutes that makes it some Species of Brute Creatures; or else for Inanimate Creatures fo usually called, as Plants and all other Inanimate Bodies that feem different Species of things, they in their particular confistences are held together into one by the Spirit of the Universe. And I know no other ways, according to the Course of Nature of many Substances becoming one, but these

#### SECT. XI.

Of Gods making many Spirits or Souls into one, and of the many difficulties that opinion is encumbred with, as particularly in that instance of the Souls of Men being supposed to be ex traduce.

But T upon further attention to your last words, And divide them as well as Matter you seem not to make so strange an Oneness, or mysterious division of these spirits as I conceived from your frame of speech at first. But when you add, and unite and divide them as well as Matter, it implies I consess no contradiction to the power of God, that He may hold a Company of contrasted spirits together or expanded, as well as the Spirit of Nature a Congeries of Particles, and then dissunder them again. But to say any such thing is done, I see neither truth nor usefulness in the Assertion. But this we will consider further in what follows, which is this.

But if he should, (viz. divide these Spirits) that would

be no destruction of their Species as the Mixtorum dissolutio is, but as every drop of divided Water is Water, and one Candle lighting many, and many joining in one are all the same Fire, so much more would it be with Spirits were they united or divided, and their Locality and Penetrability are past our conceit. This looks plausibly and specioully on't at the first fight, and it is true, that the dividing of these united Spirits would be no destruction of their Species, as it is in the dissolution of mixt Bodies; but if we look more closely into the business, this Asfertion is burdened with great difficulties, and many demands are to be fatisfied before it can be allowed. For this multitude of Spirits, of Souls suppose, made into one, are yet fo many Individual Souls notwithstanding this union; As suppose a Congeries of Physical Monads, or smallest Particles of Matter of which some Body is compounded, are still so many Individual or Numerical Particles or Physical Monads notwithstanding this their Composition into one Body. Wherefore concerning the Soul of Adam, (for this contrivance feems chiefly to look toward their opinion, that fay the Soul is ex traduce, which some, otherwise prudent and intelligent Men, do hold.)

First, I demand, whether this multitude of Souls which makes up that one Soul of Adam, as so many Drops make up one Bucket of Water, have all of them Perception and Understanding in them or no, which if they all have, their Nature being co-ordinate, they are so many Personalities. And Adam's Name might have been Legion, at least, as well as the Possessed Man's in the

Gospel.

Secondly, If Adam was not such a Legion, or rather innumerable company of Spirits, which one of this company was Adam himself; and who were the rest of the Company? Were they all the Souls of Men that were to come into this World, beside the Soul of Adam and the Soul of Eve, or was Eve's Body sull fraught with Souls also? And if so,

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Thirdly, I demand, what laws of shedding of Souls there is betwixt Male and Female in Generation, and whether the Soul from the Female is shed when a Female Child was to be born, and a Soul from a Male when a Male-Child was to be born? In which I know no absurdity in Nature unless it should be one, and that should be implyed thereby, that Souls are Male and Female; but Theology in the mean time would be at a loss, to find a Male Soul in the Virgin of whom was born the Messias. But to let this pass, we enquire,

Fourthly, Whether that innumerable company of Souls in Adam and Eve were in an expanded condition or contracted. If in an expanded condition, they all immediately reaching the Body well fitted, and inactuating it, the vigour of the Body must be increased according to the numerosity of these actuating Spirits in it; what a Lusty Young Man then must this Adam have been and Eve what a Frolick Young Virgin, or else how hugely and tearingly strong had they both been, like some 'E-

reey & possessed with many Dæmons?

Fifthly, What an infinite change would there be in Adam and Eve when they had parted with so many of their actuating Spirits in Venereal Copulation: Adam to his Male Children, and Eve to the Female, which they were so to distribute to their immediate Off-spring Male and Female, as only to leave their own single Souls for the actuating their Bodies while they lived, otherwise if there were any more left behind, what became of them at their Death? and therefore,

Sixthly, I further enquire, there being a number of Souls imparted in Generation, to whether Male or Female that are to be born, what becomes of those many Souls when a Man or Woman dies and never is Mar-

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Seventhly, I would have you consider what a difference there must be betwixt the vigour of unmarried Men and Women of some thousand years ago, and those of this present Age, every one now being reduced to

that paucity of Souls to actuate his Body in comparison of what they had some thousand years ago, and how un-

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compliable this difference is with History.

Eighthly, If these Souls be not all of them in this expanded condition, but only the proper Souls of Adam and Eve; and the numerous Remainder being in a contrasted condition, I demand, how all these become one Soul in such a fort as you (if I mistake you not) fancy all the Lights of several Candles light up together become one Light or Fire? And whether they will not lie in the Body of Adam and Eve as the little Eggs that make up the Roe of a Fish; as also whether this Roe of Souls or Spirits pass through the whole Body, or in what peculiar Vessels are they lodged? And

Ninthly, These contracted Spirits in reality having as much Essence or Substance in them as the expanded, (else when they inform a Body, to actuate the whole Body, they must be inlarged by eeking and patching more substance to them, which is contrary to the Nature of Spirits) I demand, what becomes of them also when a Man or Woman dies and transmits them to no other, by

having to do with the Duties of Wedlock?

Tenthly, As for your illustrations of what you will have in this point, That these several Spirits or Souls may be united into one Soul, as the feveral lights of a Candle into one Light or Fire, or as several Drops of Water into one Bucket of Water, if that be brought to illustrate the union of these Spirits, as well as their Identity of Species still upon their division; I desire you to consider the nature of Light throughly, and you shall find it nothing but a certain motion of a Medium, whose parts or Particles are so or so qualified, some such way as Cartesianism drives at. But here is not Substances uniting into one Substance which is your case, but motion communicated from feveral Movers, becoming one Motion in one Subject; as when two Men thrust one and the same Body on, or whip one and the same Top, though there be two Thrusters or Whippers, there is but one motion from them two in that one Body or Top they thrust or whip. So that this comes not home to the point. And for the Drops of Water, or several Flames of a Candle joined into one, which viewing your words again, I suspect may be as well your sense, though for foreness you should have faid one Flame rather than one Fire, although this illustrates well how some things united keep the same specifick denomination also after they are divided; yet such an union as that of Water, and likewise division makes the Soul of Man, or of any Animal else look not like Soul or Spirit, but Matter. there is a Repugnancy in the very supposition, to be one Soul, or to be one Spirit, and yet to be divisible into parts which are feparately Souls or Spirits, as if every Soul or Spirit were an Homogeneal Mass of Soul or Spi-

rit, as Water is of Water, and Air of Air.

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But to make an end of this Paragraph, when as in the last place you add concerning these united Souls or Spirits, And their Locality and Penetrability are past our conceit. I desire you to consider whether it be not a lothness and unwillingness strictly and closely to examine, rather than an Inability to conceive the Penetrability and Locality of these Spirits (how they must be in the Body of Adam, or of any Brute Animal, either in an expanded or contracted condition, as has been above noted) that makes you so shie of medling with their Locality and Penetrability. For haply, if you had confidered the thing fo closely as I have at this time, you might have found your felf so sensible of the encumbrances on the opinion, that you would have quite discarded it, and espoused some other that looks more handsomely on't, and is better accorded to the old Mosaick Cabbala, that makes the Active or Spiritual principle Indivisible, or Indiscerpible. The Symbol of which Principle is Light, but is faid to be created in the first day, a Monad lignifying the Indivisible Nature thereof. But to say any thing is Spirit, and yet can be actually divided into parts, is a Repugnancy to the Nature of the thing, and a Contra-

Contradiction to the Socia Secraçásolo, the Divinely inspired wisdom of the old Cabbala.

#### SECT. XII.

Whether Souls in Generation be produced as when one Candle liohts another: and how that conceit is false, as also incompliable with the Psychopyrist's Hypothesis. other difficulties touching the Penetrability and Locality of such a Soul as he imagines.

F' I have upon fecond thoughts hit your true meaning in those words, One Candle lighting many, and many joining or joined in one (I know not which) are all the fame Fire, that you mean only this, That they are supposed to be put so near one another, the Candles being fo cut on purpose, that the Wicks might touch, and so all the Flames join together, this then is no more than that of the refemblance of the union of the parts of Water. But the activity of Fire does still more increase those difficulties, how Mankind should still retain the like vivacity (and so of Brute Creatures) that they did fome thousand years ago, their Active principle being fo much diminished, unless you recur to that common plausible Conceit, That as one Candle lights another Candle without diminishing its own Flame, so Adam's Soul may give a Soul to Cain or Abel without diminishing his own. But this is against your Hypothesis, which plainly implies, that many Souls are made into one, and then separated or divided upon Generation. there any Refuge in this similitude of lighting one Candle at another, for the admotion of the lighted Candle to the unlighted, does only put the fulphurous parts of the unlighted Candle into motion, and leaves the spirit of Nature excited by this new occasion to pursue its work, till all the combustible matter be dispersed. But what's this to the production of a Soul or Spirit

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is e which is a Substance? The lighted Candle produces no substance, but by its application excites the Spirit of the World to move, which causes the Particles of Tallow to be in such a manner moved as they exhibite to our view that Phænomenon of Flame. So that according to this, the production of a Soul ex Traduce, would end in meer Materialism, and signifie only, that in Generation some matter only is newly modified, as the Tallow is or Wax when they pass out of their state of Wax or Tallow into that of a bright Flame. Which way of Philosophizing, as it is most false, so it is most mischievous if men should be so fond as to believe it.

And now indeed touching this compounded Soul of yours made up of numerous Souls united into one, they being fo Crass and Material, I can say as well as you, their Penetrability and Locality (so as to make up one Soul, suppose of Adam) are past our conceit: Not that it is past our conceit that Locality so belongs to the Soul that it must be somewhere, for you your self allow it an extension, but where it should be placed in the Body: For it felf being Matter, it cannot penetrate Body, and therefore if it actuate the whole Body, it must be disperfed in innumerable Pores as it were thereof, which confifts very ill with the union of these numerous Souls; and if they lie altogether in some one particular p'ace, the residue of the Body will be destitute of Soul, with the ill Consequences thereof. Which Considerations may very well cause puzzles touching its Locality, or rather the placing of it; and therefore I should think it more advisable to embrace such Hypotheses as are not past our conceit. But we are not to insist overlong upon one Paragraph.

# SECT. XIII.

That Penetrability and Indivisibility are not Accidents of a Spirit, but Essential Attributes thereof: And that it is a piece of 'Arassevoia, as was noted before, to hope to know the bare and naked substance of any thing.

Hirdly, say you, but were me sure of what you say therein, these two, Penetrability and Indivisibility, Speak but Accidents though proper, and therefore are no satisfying notice of the notion of Substance Spiritual, as difind from Matter. To this I fay, that Penetrability and Indivisibility are not Accidents at all, no more than Rationale is an Accident in the definition of a Man, but they are Immediate Essential Attributes, as much as any are in the World, and at least part of the full Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit as fuch, or of a Spirit in general.

You feem to require fuch a Definition or Representation of a thing as should exhibit to your Perception the very naked Substance of the thing, against which point of what Aristotle calls 'Arcusevoia, nor I know well how to English it, is that Caution or Advertisement in the third Book of my Enchiridion Ethicum, That the bare and intimate Essence of a thing is not to be known, but only certain Essential Attributes or Habitudes, as I noted before. And this is a Rule, I think, worth the inculcating and observing. When we fay, Homo est Animal Rationale, which is accounted as Essential a Definition as any we meet withal, and the most immediate; Yet Rationale, which is a specifick difference accounted, and therefore abundantly Essential, when we closely look unto it, it affords us no more than the notice that a Man is such an one that has the faculty and operation of Reasoning, but neither the faculty nor operation is the Essence. Let this intimation suffice to mind us of the limits of our own knowledge, that we do not vainly either

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either desire or attempt to go beyond the lists that God and Nature hath set us. Wherefore these Attributes which are Immediate, Adequate, and Inseparable from a Spirit, are as Essential to a Spirit as any Attributes are to any thing, and ought to be acknowledged a satisfying notice of the notion of Substance Spiritual as distinct from Matter.

### SECT. XIV.

A Synopsis of the Psychopyrist's philosophizings touching a Spirit. The four sirst particulars thereof, where amongst other things the insufficiency of his Reasonings for laying aside the use of the words Immaterial and Material, and his holding only to the distinction of Natures Active and Passive, is noted.

May perhaps have been over-tedious already, but yet because you have been pleased still more particularly, though compendiously, to impart to me your thoughts touching this present Subject, I shall bestow some strictures or touches upon each of them in order as they lie. I am bitherto, say you, constrained to contain

my thoughts in the following compass.

First, I know Spirits best by their Virtus vitalis Formalis Una-Trina. But here I demand how do you know that this Virtus Vivalis Formalis Ona-Trina, does belong to Spirit and not to Matter, unless you have an Antecedent Notion of Spirit distinct from Matter, and know the nature of Matter also so distinctly, and the Operations of that Virtus Vitalis Formalis, that you can conclude them one Repugnant to another? Otherwise, though you find that Virtus Vitalis Formalis in a Subject, you know not whether the Principle be Material or Spiritual, from whence it is, or in which it resides.

Secondly, I hold, say you, that of created Spirits Sub-stantia, as notifying a Basis Realis, must be the Concep-

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tus Fundamentalis. This is found and unexceptionable fo far as I can discern. Whence it is evident, that the Soul being a Spirit, and a Spirit substance, they that hold the Soul to be ex Traduce, must hold, that a substance may be ex Traduce: Which that similitude of a Lamp lighted at a Lamp does not reach, as I noted above. And what difficulties there are in the Parents Soul shedding part of itself, to the producing the Childs

Soul, I intimated above.

Thirdly, This word Immaterial, fay you, fignifying nothing but a Negation, and Wateria being by many Ancients used in the same sense that we do Substantia, I usually lay by the words. The reason of the first I conceive not fo weighty. For a Negative Particle in composition with a word that denotes imperfection, implies politiveness and perfection, as in Infinite, Immortal, and the like; these remove the impersections in Finiteness and Mortality, and imply fomething politive of a better nature. And so does Immaterial remove the Imperfections of Discerpibility and Impenetrability, and implies the As for the reason of the second avoidance; Materia indeed may be used in such a sence with the Ancients, as Subjectum has in Logick, or Substantia, quatenus substat Accidentibus; but as it is precisely defined, Ens per se subsistens, that Unn or Materia is put in lieu of Substantia, in that Adequate sence, I believe it is not easie to give an Example. But here I mainly inquire, fince the Definition of Substantia, and the Definition of Materia is fo well known in the learned World, why you will use Substantia which is but the Genus of the other, in lieu of Materia, or of the other Species of Substantia, which is Immaterial or Spiritual, when this is more certain and distinct, unless it be out of a shieness to pronounce to what subject, whether Material or lmmaterial fuch properties or operations do belong, or whether there be any fuch diffinction really and properly, as Body and Spirit in the Created Universe. But you know best this your self. Fourthly, Fourthly, I hold to the distinction, say you, between Natures or Substances, Active and Passive. But there being no created Substances whatever but what is both active and passive in some sense or other, this is a distinction that thus far confounds all, distinguishes nothing. But Substance spiritual and material, are certain indelible Characters of two orders of things specifically different. Which distinct way of Philosophizing is to me more satisfactory than thus to blend and consound the classes of things. This looks as if there were some Paradoxical Mystery under it, which is better let go than over-curiously inquired into.

### SECT. XV.

The fifth Particular touching the Purity of Spiritual Subflances, and how prone they are that understand not the subtilest Material Substances to consist of Particles to think what is really Material, to be Spiritual.

LIfthly, I distinguish, say you, Spiritual Substances as I such, by the Purity of their Substances besides the formal differences. I suppose you mean by the Purity, the Subtilty and Tenuity of their Substances. As the Interpreter of Trismegist's Pamander, cap. 12. renders 78 xex 10μερισά ον & Jans. Portionem purissimam materia. Purissimaque materia portio Aer, Aeris Anima, Anima Mens, Mentis denique Deus. The Greek is, "Esiv &v f alt uns τό λεπομερές αλον, απρ, αές Ο δε ψυψη, ψυχης δε νές, νέ Al Θεός. And yet λεπλομέρεια, signifies properly the subtilty, Tenuity, or smallness of Parts or Particles of which a thing confifts. Which yet the Translator calls Purity, but I am very well affured, that your Purity of Spiritual Substances is not such as you conceive consists of Particles, because you do not admit that Hypothesis no more than Judge Hales.

Which is a shrewd invitation to one to deem what is really

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really Material to be Spiritual, when it is not, meetly because it is conceived to be one continued subtil Substance. But a man would be loth to admit a congeries of Atomes, be they never so small or subtil, to be a Spirit, no more than he would admit the Powder of some crass Body to be a Spirit, which was so palpably a Body before. For magis and minus non variant speciem, as that Scholastick Maxim has it.

### SECT. XVI.

The fixth Particular. That all created Spirits are in some fort Passive; That that Spissitude which is given to Spirits by the Psychopyrists Antagonist argues a Spirit to be Immaterial rather than Material; That Body sometimes has a less gross signification than Matter; And in what sense the Psychopyrist seems to allow created Spirits to be Incorporeal; And what might be the chief ground of this mistake.

Cixthly, Tet, fay you, I doubt not but all created spirits are somewhat passive, quia Influxum causæ primæ recipiunt, and you grant them Spissitude and Extension, which signifies as much as many mean that call them Material. That is to fay, if I rightly understand you, all created Spirits, be they never so pure and refined, yet are not fo much transpiritualized from the condition of Matter, but that they are paffive in respect of the first cause, and his influence on them, which I shall easily admit also in the highest degree of created Spirits in my sense, which are most properly and really such. To which, viz. To all created Spirits, though I grant Spissitude and Extenfion, yet the former is granted in fuch a fense that it fignifies only more substance within less compass, but no hardness or crassness accrewing from the Reduplication of the same substance into a narrower compass. So that it is as much Spiritual as before, and does not herein fymbolize reerly

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bolize with Matter, but approves it self contrary thereto, Matter implying Impenetrability of parts, but this
Penetrability: And as for Extension, that, in it self, has
nothing of Materiality in it, there being Metaphysical
Extension as well as Metaphysical Numerality, which belong to Entia quatenus Entia, there being no Ens or Being devoid of all Amplitude, or not capable to make
a second, third, fourth, &c. in Number. Wherefore
if those men mean no more by these words of spissitude
and extension in Spirits than I do, and yet call Spirits
Material, I must take the leave to say, that in my Judgment they miscal them.

But custom, fay you, having made Materia, but especially Corpus, to signific only such grosser substance as the three passive Elements have, I yield so to say, that Spirits are not Corporeal or Material. That Corpus does not always fignifie more Crasly than Materia, but mere Trinedimension Metaphysical or Mathematical, is apparent from that expression of some of the Platonists who call that space in which the Mundane Bodies move, and which Democritus and Epicurus termed To nevdy, they call it, I say, Euna duno an Immaterial Body, but to have called it Immaterial matter, had been a contradiction. Whence is intimated that Matter Fundamentally and Specifically, founds more crafty than Body. But we will not contend about words; that which is most observeable here is this, that you feem to concede or imply, that no created Spirits are in any other sence to be esteemed Incorporeal or Immaterial, but in such as supposes them of not so crass a consistency as those three passive Elements are, Earth, Water, Air. As if Fire and Ather, which are far thinner than Air, were Immaterial and Incorporeal Beings, nor any other created Beings to be faid to be Immaterial or Incorporeal in any other sence than they, namely, for the Tenuity or Subtilty of their Substance.

Which opinion, though I have known pious and intelligent persons to have been of, I look upon as a

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grand mistake arising from another false supposition of surmise, namely, that the Bodies of the World do not consist of small minute parts of matter, and that Water, and Air, and Æther, and Fire, are each of them a continued Substance, not a congeries of contiguous Particles that make up such shuid Substances. This I say seems the Fundamental errour of such as Philosophize according to your mode: Which first error if they had not swallowed down, they could not so easily have imbibed this second, viz. That there are no created Substances Incorporeal in any other sense than Æther or Fire may be said to be Incorporeal, namely, as being freed from that crasness or grosness that the three passive Elements seem to have.

### SECT. XVII.

Reasons why the Atomick Philosophy is to be preferred before that of the Psychopyrist. And whence he may have sufficient instruction to assure him of so concerning a Truth.

But here we two do very much disagree: For I conceive that all Bodies consist of Atomes or little Particles of Matter; The more hard and consistent Bodies, as Stones, Iron, and the like, of Particles some way, something more firmly continued one to another; but in sluid Bodies, such as Water, Air, Æther, and Fire, of Particles meerly contiguous, and in some motion one by another. And this way of Philosophy I think I have good reason to embrace before any other. First, because in this industrious and searching Age it is most universally received by free and considering Philosophicum in which knowledge should abound according to the prediction of Daniel.

Secondly, This mode of Philosophy is the most useful for

for the best ends, and serves to support the main parts of natural Religion the best; namely, the Existence of God, of Genii or Angels, and the Immortality of the Soul. For it being fo abfurd at the first fight, that a Congeries or heap of Particles or Atomes should be capable of those most noble Functions of Imagination, Memory, Understanding, nay of Sense or Personality, were it not for this aukward Conceit of Air, and Æther, and Fire being continued Substances, and no congeries of Particles, Men would immediately be led into a necessary belief of Spiritual Substance properly so called, and then all the main Articles of Natural Religion would go down glib and easie. But to deny that such liquid Bodies confift of Particles, deprives us of some of the most confiderable aids that Philosophy affords against Atheism and Epicurism.

Thirdly, This mode of Philosophy seems to be the most ancient (and antiquissimum quodque verissimum) nay to have been the old Moschical or Mosaical Philosophy, as may appear out of what I have writ in the Appendix to the Desence of my Cabbala Philosophica, cap. 1.

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And fourthly, and lastly, And which is of most moment to Philosophick Spirits, this Doctrine of Bodies confisting of Particles, and that their modification and motion, or fixation, exhibits to our perception all the fensible Phænomena of the Universe, is demonstrable to any unprejudiced Reason. Which would be too long here to make out; but I refer you to my first Epistle to V.C. sett. 6. to my first Adnotamentum upon Judge Hales his Difficiles Nuga, to the 12th Section of my Examinatio Philosophematum Eruditi Authoris Difficilium Nugarum, &c. Which whole Treatise touching the Essentia Media, which that worthy Person would bring up, and the manner of Rarefaction and Condensation, as also his nine objections against the Spirit of Nature, with my Answers (all which are not passing seven pages in Folio) if you have leifure and patience attentively to read and confider, consider, I should hope that Discourse with the other places of my Writings abovenamed, may have the good hap to undeceive you, and bring you into a sense of things more satisfactory to your own Mind and Reason than you have fallen into yet. And it is worth the while for a Man to be undeceived in that point, and to be rationally assured, that Earth, and Water, and Air, and other Bodies of the Universe, do consist of Particles, for the reasons I above intimated. But you proceed.

### SECT. XVIII.

The seventh Particular, touching the nature of Fire. The Psychopyrists wish that Fire were better studied, with his Antagonists Wish added thereto, That Water were better studied. A clear proof chiefly out of Des-Cartes, that Water consists of certain long; slexible, and tough Particles, which is a fair Inducement to believe that other Bodies consist of Particles also.

Seventhly, fay you, Though I run not into the excess of Ludov. le Grand, de Igne, nor of Telesius or Patricius, I would Ignis were better studied. As for Le Grand, Telesius, and Patricius, what they hold touching Fire I have not had the occasion to observe, but it seems even according to your own Judgment, they Philosophize something extravagantly therein, which makes me the less concerned to look after them, they being disallowed by one that seems to think so over-magnificently of Fire himself.

But now whereas you wish that Fire were better studied than it is, I also wish (and yet not out of any humour or spirit of contradiction to oppose you) that Water were better studied than it is, and that that Hydrostatical experiment of the Wooden Rundle arising from the bottom of a Bucket of Water, the Water in the mean

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time over it actually weighing it may be one or two hundred pounds weight, continually perceptible by the unintermitted stretch of the Rope or Weight upon the hand, one may put under the bottom of the Bucket; I say I wish this experiment of Water were well weighed and considered. Of what importance it is, and how sirmly it demonstrates an Immaterial Being or Spirit, that moves the matter of the World, I have intimated to you above, and how none have been yet able to evade the Evidence of the Demonstration, that there must be something Immaterial endued with Properties above any matter, distinct from the Water and Rundle, and Penetrating them both, that causes that marvellous Phænomenon.

Moreover I would not only have fuch experiments as these considered, but I would have the very Nature of Water well fifted and studied. And to any one that has that impartial curiofity in him that he will study the nature of Water as well as of Fire, I would commend to him the reading of Des-Cartes his Meteors. with incomparable evidence he makes out, That Water confilts of long flexible Particles, which joined together in a more moderate creeping motion contiguously one by another, are the Phænomenon of Water, but being more swiftly agitated as they are in an Lolipyla fet over the Fire with some Water in the bottom of it, these Aqueous Particles raifed out of the Water and put upon a whirling motion, playing as it were at quarter-staff one with another in that part of the belly of the Lolipyla that has only Air, they contending thus for more space, burst out of the orifice of the Lolipyla, and give the Phænomenon of a very fensible, if not a violent Wind.

That they are exhaled thus, as from the Water in the Lolipyla, by vertue of the Fire, so from the Sea and Rivers, and other moist places, by vertue of the heat of the Sun. That according to certain measures of motion or rest, and nearness, and remoteness from the Earth,

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mean time they cause Mists or Clouds. That certain numbers of them cluttering more close together in a warm Air, cause drops of Rain, but in a more cold, Snow or Hail. And that Water by strong cold is frozen into Ice, is apparent to all. Which is therefore a considerable firm consistency of such kind of Aqueous Particles, that otherwise remaining still Aqueous Particles, take upon them the form not only of Clouds, Snow, and Rain, but also of blustering Winds, that whirling motion being imparted unto them.

These, methinks, are Indications sufficient, that Water is a Body consisting of oblong, slexible Particles, which may be dissevered by heat; and as the Ice, though a firm Body, is melted thereby into that sluid Body we call Water, so this Water may have its parts so relaxated, as to be rarefied into Vapours, and those Vapours so agitated, that they get the form of Wind. And amongst other things that hit so handsomly, it is also observable, that their easily being drawn out of a wet Cloth exposed to the Air or Fire, when it is hard to get Oyl or Grease out so, argues, that they are long, smooth, slexible parts, whenas those of Oyl are more ramose, and entangled with the Cloth, and among themselves.

A man of any Nose or natural sagacity in Philosophy cannot but smell out the meaning of this, namely, That Water must needs consist of such Particles as these, which Des-Cartes has described; and that it is not one equally continued Body, but, though each long Particle be strongly continued in it self, yet they are but contiguous in a manner in Water, though pretty sirmly continuous in Ice. But if they were alike continuous all over in Water, that is, no more in one part than another, they might pass the least pores, and like the Sun-beams, at least with some force added, strain themselves through Glass. Which shews plainly, that Water is not one alike continued Body, but consists of long Particles, each being tough, as I may say, as well as slexible in it self, but they are easily separable each from the other. And

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we finding this fo plainly discoverable in Water, if we be not over-affectedly shie and timorous, how can we well abstain from concluding all other things, as well as Water, especially if they be reduceable to a suidity, to consist of some kind of Particles or other? And this, I think, is the genuine Result of our diligently studying the Nature of Water.

#### SECT. XIX.

The Advantage of studying, and well understanding of Water, for the better understanding of Fire; and that the Phanomenon of Fire is from the motion of certain Particles, as well as that of Water and Vapours out of a Cauldron.

A ND having dived so deep into the Mystery of Waup a Key for the easier opening the nature of Fire, which I grant is to be studied also. And this we may very conveniently do by Candle light. For the Fire and Flame in a lighted Candle, is much what of the same nature with all other Fire. Here therefore let us observe, that as Ice before, which feems of a firm confiftence, was first resolved into Water, and that Water into Vapours, &c. That here, I fay, also the fixed Tallow, which answers to the frozen Ice, is resolved first into a kind of fluid Oyl or Fat, answering to the Water, and after into a fort of visible Reek, if we may so call that which is so bright and splendid; a certain kind of Particles loosened from the Tallow or Wax, which consists of them, being put into motion, as it is in Vapours. It is manifest hence, that Flame is nothing but such a kind of Particles, put into such a kind of motion different from that of Water, and in a different manner affecting or modifying the medium, whence is that appearance to our Eye we call Flame, which is but a more close, but bright

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bright Vapour or Reek. And thus is the whole Candle by degrees dissolved into Particles, nor is it the same individual Flame, any more than the Water that runs thorough such a Pipe continually, till all the Water be run out, is the same individual Water all the time.

So that we fee the studying of Water will make us conceive the nature of Fire the better. And gives us to understand, that it is nothing but such a kind of motion and particles that so modifice the Medium of our sight, that such a Phænomenon appears to us as we call Fire or Flame. Flame, when the accended Particles are volatile, but Fire, when they are more fixt, as in the Wick of a Candle when the Flame is gone, or in red-hot Iron. Where the parts of the Iron, not at all volatile (as in Wax, Wood, and Tallow, and the like) yet are smartly vibrated against the Medium of our sight, and cause the Phænomenon of Fire. I have studied the nature of Fire with diligence and seriousness, and yet I profess I can make no more of it than thus. But we go on.

# SECT. XX.

A close compatted account of the nature of a Spirit from Fire, made by the Psychopyrist, and deduced by his Antagonist into seven Propositions.

But in Philosophy. But you hold on; But in brief, he that knoweth that Ignis is a Substance whose form is the Potentia activa movendi, illuminandi, calefaciendi, these as received in Gross passive Bodies, being but their Accidents,

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all but the Igneous substance in act operating upon them, and conceives of Spirits but as Ignis eminenter, that is, of a purer substance than Ignis is, which we best conceive of. next the formal vertue, by its similitudes, I think knows as much as I can reach of the Substance of created Spirits.

Though you thought you were straightened in room. vet methinks you have given a Specimen of a very dexterous faculty in contriving fo much into fo little a compass. Whereby I think I am inabled to conceive your full meaning deduceable as I suppose into these following Propositions.

First, That Fire is a Substance whose form is an Active

power of motion, Light and Heat.

Secondly, That the Motion, Light, and Heat, that appear in gross passive Bodies, are but Accidents all of them of the faid Bodies, viz. fuch as in a Fire-stick, Candle, and the like.

Thirdly, That there is an Igneous Substance in act operating upon the abovesaid gross passive Bodies distinct

from the faid Bodies.

Fourthly, That a Spirit is to be conceived of but as Ignis eminenter.

Fifthly, That this Ignis eminenter is a purer Substance

than Ignis.

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Sixthly, That this purer Substance than Ignis next to its formal vertue is best conceived of, by the similitudes

it bears with the aforesaid Ignis.

Seventhly, and lastly, That he that conceiveth thus of created Spirits, knows as much of their Substance as you can reach.

# SECT. XXI.

Certain Queries upon the foregoing Propositions to find what the Psychopyrist would be at, and how much nearer we. are to the true knowledge of a Spirit by his illustrations thereof from Fire.

Shall now crave leave to make fome Queries touching pofit these Propositions; As whether in the first Proposition, you mean by an Active Fower, a Power always exerting it self into Act, so that this Fire is always moving, enlightening, and hot, and in such fort, that it is not only these effective, but formaliter, else why should it be called Ignis? And that this Query is to be answered in the Affirmative, feems manifest from the second and third Propositions, they implying an Igneous Substance acting upon those substances or gross passive Bodies, that we call Fire. Now if this Igneous Substance be really Substance, and not one of the Substantia Media, according to Judge Hales his way of Philosophizing, which I have sufficiently confuted in my Examination, I demand here what is this new Igneous Substance never heard of before, Is it Material or Immaterial? If it be Immaterial it is not Fire; if it be Material, a Material Fire distinct from the Fire of the Flame of a Candle, or from that of a Firestick, or red-hot Iron, there is no more ground or reason for, than for a Material Water distinct from, but in the Water of a Well, a River, or the Sea, but the very matter it felf of the Water, even of that which we call Water, is modified into this Phænomenon of Water, and in like reason the matter of Fire, even of that which we call Fire, is modified into the Phænomenon of Fire, without any other Material Igneous Substance operating upon it. This, to the unprejudiced, I think will appear very plain and rational.

The next Query is upon the fourth Proposition, which is meant by Ignis eminenter. For if it be to exclude the

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onceit of a Spirits being Ignis formaliter, and that it is ally effectively Ignis, God may thus be faid to be Ignis minenter, as he may all things else, according to the Orphick Theology. But the fifth and the fixth Propositions seem to savour the other sense. That a Spirit is Formaliter Ignis, but only a more pure Ignis, that is of a more tenuious Substance, as was above observed, than that very Igneous Substance mentioned in the third Proposition. But this I profess to me is a Fire without Light, nor enables me to conceive a jot better of the

Nature of a Spirit, than if I were without it.

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For the gross visible Fire is nothing but accensed Particles, or fuch a fort of Particles put into fuch a kind of motion; and how does it appear, that there either is any other Fire but this, or if there were, that it is any other than more fubtil Particles so and so moved? So that in all this Fire and Heat we want Light to discover the real nature of a Spirit. And yet the fixth Proposition fays, that a Spirit next to the formal Vertue, is best known by the similitude it bears with Ignis in the sense of the third Proposition. So that if we knew that Ignis, it were only a Metaphorical illustration there-Which is no good mode of defining the Nature of things, but as I intimated above, the Nature of this Ignis can be no other than a more subtil confisency of Particles, if it be any thing at all, and therefore very inept to set off the Nature of a Spirit, which is Ens unum per se & non per aliud, as all must grant that grant there is any fuch thing as a Spirit properly fo called. Wherefore I much doubt of the truth of the last Proposition, that he that thus conceives of created Spirits, knows as much of their Substance as you can reach. For conceive you undervalue your own cognitive Faculties in that Affertion, which I cannot believe but can pierce further than fo, as haply I may discover anon; In the mean time we pass to what follows.

### SECT. XXII.

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Of the Greek Fathers dividing Fire into Intellective, Senfitive, and Vegetative, and in what sense they are to be understood, and how the Mode of the Ancient Philosophy was Enigmatical and Hebraical.

A N D the Greek Fathers, say you, that called Spirit Fire, and distinguished Ignem per Formas, into Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, or Visible Fire, (as it is in Aere Ignito) allowing an incomprehensible purity of Substance in the higher above the lower, (as in Passives, Air hath above Water) I think did speak tolerably, and as informingly as the Notions of Penetrability and Indivisibility, though perhaps these also may be useful. If the words and places of these Fathers had been cited, I would more distinctly and particularly have made answer to them, but now my answer must be more undeterminate

and general.

And first, I say, Though there is a great deference to be given to the Fathers in things that lay within their Sphere, yet that some of them were none of the best Philosophers, is apparent from their making the Earth flat not Spherical, and their denying Antipodes. But then in the second place, supposing some of them did Philosophize at the rate above described, dividing Fire into Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, I would here demand in what sense they here spoke, whether they spoke not of the Immediate Instrument of Operation in Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative Creatures, which I can easily agree, that it is at least, mostwhat, Igneous or Athereal, the Vehicles of Angels being acknowledged to be such; Or, whether they did not speak Symbolically ex Destinato, or at least using out of Ignorance, the Symbolical expression of the Ancient

ent Philosophers for the proper, (who Symbolically lled a Spirit Fire, yea, God himself, who is the most are Spirit conceivable) whether it was not from thence at these Fathers incautiously divided Fire, as if it Sen Pere a real Spirit, into Intellective, Sensitive, &c. For at the ancient Philosophers spoke Anigmatically. lemens Alexandrinus takes express notice, देन पर्वत ας αὐτοῖς τ φιλοσοφίας Εβραϊκός κ Αινιγματώδης. In which lying of his it is implyed, that not only their way of Philosophizing was Inigmatical or Symbolical, but that Spirit of the Hebraical Philosophy was such.

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# SECT. XXIII.

that the Symbolical or Ænigmatical mode of the ancient Philosophy caused marvellous fond mistakes in them that were not aware of it, as in Aristotle and others that took the Cortex for the Kernel.

ND the ignorance of that Mode of the old Phi-1 losophers, has caused ridiculous opinions. om the ancient Molaick Cabbala's fetting off the napre of things by Numbers, those unskilled in the myery, have afterwards made Numbers the very constituve principle of things. And Aristotle, when as Parsenides speaking Symbolically, and Mosaically declared, hat Fire and Earth were the Principles of all things, hich undoubtedly was spoken in reference to the beinning of Genesis, where אור וארץ are the two Priniples of things, to wit, Spirit and Matter; I say, Ariotle is so silly as to take Parmenides literally, when as et himself acknowledges, that Parmenides reckoned his farth in the rank of Non-Entia, which was impossible or him to have done, unless he had spoke Symbolically. hese two, Fire and Earth, are the same with the Pythaoreans, ous is oxoro, Light and Darkness, who also ad partaken of the Mosaick Cabbala. See my Prefacegeneral

general to the second Tome of my Philosophick Willings, Sect. 13. As also the Appendix to the Defenced my Philosophick Cabbala, Cap. 7. Sect. 5. and I hop you will acknowledge I have reason on my side. Where fore the Fathers using with the ancient Philosophers the name Ignis for Spiritus, is no warrant, since it may signific Symbolically, for us to think that Ignis belongs the very Nature and Essence of a Spirit.

# SECT. XXIV.

That the Chaldee and Magick Oracles call not only the Sout but God himself Fire; but that it is not to be understood properly, but Symbolically proved by the Glosses of Michael Psellus and Pletho.

Hat Ignis is put for Spirit by the Ancients, is plain over and over again from the Magick and Chalden Oracles; (to say nothing here of Ezechiel's Vision, where God the Father is represented by Fire, which the Cabbalists also follow) these Oracles, I say, do not stick to call the highest Deity, from which all things are, Fire; which I conceive is very gross and absurd to understand in a proper sense of God. And therefore, both Pletho and Pfellus upon that Oracle, Eigi mavra no ess inde inyeyaura, All things proceed out of one Fire; The one fays, it inde mues nitor it ivds Der, Out of one Fire that is from one God; and the other, This, fays he, is our Doctrine and true. Пачта раз та очта а'яд шы Les unosaou Enabor, For all things received their being from one God; Where they rendring mie by Oede, Fire by God, they questionless understood God in their proper Philosophical Notion as a pure Immaterial and Intellectual Being, or else they would make his Nature inferiour to that of a Created Spirit: For when a Created Spirit is called Fire in those Oracles, as the Soul is exprefly termed mue quenos, A thining Fire; Pletho inter-

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rets, mue paerdy, stripping it out of its Symbolical Cortex, Seia vis soia vi voces, A certain Divine and Intelestual Substance which is here called Fire Symbolically. s God himself is, to intimate its affinity with the Divinity it felf. And upon the same Oracle, which, t large is,

"Of Luxi mue Esa panvoy Swapen males, 'Adavalos Te usver no Cons Secriotes esiv.

The sence of which is, That the Soul being shining Fire, by the power of the Father, remains Immortal, and the Mistress of Life: that is, an undisturbed Possessor or Proprietor of Life in her felf. Upon this Oracle, I fay, Michael Pfellus Glosses thus, 'H Juxi au hor soa & ao aua-Tov สบัง ชนัง ชนมใจราผม อังผม หู ราช ช่งเมนิ ชผ่นผลใช อัฐกฤกแล้งอม เลิยส่valos esw, that is to say, The Soul being an Immaterial and Incorporeal Fire (which indeed is to be no Fire, and therefore again affures us, that according to the fence of these Interpreters, God is called Fire only Symbolically) exempt from all composition, and having nothing of Matter or Body in its Essence, is Immortal. For, as he says afterward, she having not out of which she is compounded, she has not into which she may be dissolved, and therefore, fay I, is Indissoluble and Indiscerpible. Which is the true Notion of a Spirit, and not of any Fire, all which is composed of Particles and dissoluble. I might instance in more places, but the thing is so plain, that it is needless.

Wherefore it is manifest, that though the Greek Fathers should run division upon that Symbolical term for a Spirit, viz. Fire, and distribute it into Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, that there is no proof hence that every created Spirit is Fire, and not properly a Spirit; that is, fuch a Substance as is, Ens unum per fe

& non per alind, and consequently Indiscerpible.

# SECT. XXV.

Of the Incomprehensible Purity of those Fires that are pr tended to be Spirits, and whether the Greek Father Spoke tolerably in dividing Fire into Intellective, Sm tive, and Vegetative.

hat t But now concerning the Incomprehensible Purity of substance in these Fires (which must be so man Spirits) one above another, any one of which, I cannot think that you conceive may be so incomprehensible Pure, as to be the Divine Essence it self; I would in quire here (fince Flame in the first sense, and obvious our fight and fenses is so apparently, as I have abore proved, nothing but such a certain kind of Particles in fuch a kind of motion) what these several degrees of Purification can amount to more than this, That the Particles will be more fubtil and fubtil, but as arranda Congeries of Particles of Matter as before. Which I must confess, to me seems to have no affinity at all with the true Nature of a Spirit. And yet you stick not to declare, that the Greek Fathers in dividing Fire into latellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, speak tolerably and informingly. For I will leave out for the present the comparison with that other Notion which tome feems to be more precise and Natural.

Wherefore I must here crave pardon that I shall take the boldness, who have otherwise no mind to differ from any one more than needs, exprelly to differ from you in judgment in this cause. For I must pronounce, that as you feem to conceive the Fathers to speak, that is, not Symbolically, (or else it is nothing to your purpose) but properly, these Fathers speak neither tolerably nor informingly, but intolerably and mischievously, dilutely and misinformingly. For is it not an intolerable mischief, that those that should be our Guides in our greatest concerns, such as the assurance of the immor-

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lity of our Souls, should broach such Doctrine about the nature of the Soul as should induce Men to believe it fortal? For if the Soul be really Fire, or if you will, Light, how easily is it blown out when it is removed nto the open Air out of this Lanthorn of the Body? In the fire not slaming, such as is in red-hot Iron, annot remove out of the Body, but is extinct in the cold corps, as the fire in the Iron when it is grown cold. So that the former is the more plausible opinion, that it is, if it be any kind of Fire, a kind of a subtil Flame, but low can you secure its subsistence, and defend it from the injury of blustering Winds after its Exist, you must inswer to Lucretius, for his objection it was of old, who thus speaks of the Soul de rerum Natura, lib. 3.

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Hac igitur tantis ubi morbis corpore in ipso Jactetur, miserisq, modis distracta laboret, Cur eandem credis sine corpore in Acre aperto, Cum validis vențis atatem degere posse?

Which Objection is invincibly strong against such as hold the Human Soul Fire, feign it as pure and fubtil as you will, as subtil as the primum Elementum of Des-Cares, which must still be a Congeries of Atomes. It will be presently overflown with the Globuli, and go out like the last Flame of the Snuff of a Candle; and though its matter be not lost, it will lose its personality by mingling, as other liquid things do, with the rest of its own Element. And so as the Song of the wicked is in the Wifdom of Solomon, Chap. 2. We shall be bereafter as if we had never been: For our life is as smook and a little spark in the moving of our heart, which being extinguished, our body shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the foft air. Air mingled with Air, and as well Fire with Fire, which is as utter a Mortality of the Soul as the Epicureans can believe, or the wicked hope for. And yet the making of the Soul Fire, induceth the belief of all this, if it be meant Literally, not Symbolically. And therefore

therefore this form of speech so understood is plainly mischievous and intolerable, which makes me believe, the Greek Fathers did not so understand it, but spake Symbolically, or else spake they knew not well and distinctly what.

# SECT. XXVI.

Whether the Greek Fathers spake informingly in the abovesaid division. That Metaphors are to be excluded Definitions, and why. That Ventus and Fumus might as well have been divided into Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, as Fire. And how utterly uncapable Fire is of the Plastick power, less haply, than Frost and Cold.

A ND now that you fay they speak so informingly in calling a Spirit Fire, what a dilute and stender information is this, as to the satisfaction of our Reafon? Metaphors indeed and Figurative Speeches fill the Sails of our Imaginative faculty the most, and to resemble God to a Confuming Fire and a Glorious Light, may ferve the well-intended ends of Religion, and strike greater Terrour, Reverence and Devotion into the Minds of the Vulgar, but proper language is the most becoming found Philosophy and strict Reason. when we enquire into the distinct Nature of things, we are to bid adieu to Allusions and Metaphors: for to enquire into the proper Nature of a thing, is to fearch out the adequate Definition thereof, which is to be done in the most certain and clear terms that are, according to Aristotle. And therefore Metaphors are excluded from serving in a Definition, because, mar acaps; to naτα μεταφοράν λεγόμενον, because, whatever is Metaphorically spoken, as he has noted in his Topicks, is obscure and uncertain. Wherefore, I see not how informingly the Greek Fathers speak, in using the term, Fire, in-Itead

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R av m as flead of some more proper words to have fet out the true Nature of a Spirit; and I must ingenuously declare. that they might have as well divided Ventus or Fumus. or the Reek of a Cauldron, into Intellective, Sensitive. and Vegetative, as Ignis, for any advantage that Ionis

has to fet out the proper Nature of a Spirit.

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The main thing is, that it looks as if there were an avronivation, or Self-moving in Fire, it being in perpetual motion, but this is a plain fallacy, for the parts of the Flame are not felf-moved, but they are moved of another: As when you apply a lighted Candle to light another Candle, the parts of the Wick, and Wax, or Tallow, are put into motion by the moved parts of the lighted Candle, and so all the Particles of the Candle. by degrees, are put into motion by the Particles of the present Flame, the Air also affisting, which yet pass away as a River, as I noted above. But if you alledge, that Fire and Flame, as long as it is, is in motion, and so fitly sets out the Self-Activity of a Spirit, so, I say, Fume and Reek as long as they are, are in motion, and fois Wind especially, and the more like a Spirit in this regard, it being fo hard to find out what gives it its motion, fo that it looks more like a Self-moving Being. So little information is there in calling a Spirit Fire, more than if it were called Fume, or Reek, or Wind, and therefore the instruction must needs be very stender and dilute. And as no body will fay, Fume, or Reek, or Wind, is of three kinds, Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, but at first sight it would appear a meer Mifinformation, fo as certainly, to fay that Fire is distinguished into these Species, Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, would look like the distribution of a Whole into parts disagreeing with the same Whole, which were a foul Misinformation indeed, and contrary to the known Rules of Logick. And this I may be the more bold to aver, because I have up and down in my Writings demonstrated the incapacity of Matter, for fuch Functions as these.

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Is Fire Intellective? Certainly then the Sun as foon as any, and some Materialists would have it so; but I think I have proved sufficiently in my Preface to the Immortality of the Soul, the madness and Repugnancy of that opinion. Is Fire Sensitive? I have proved in that Treatife, that no Matter whatfoever, whether Fire. Water, or Air, is capable of fuch Impressions from fenfible Objects, as we are conscious to our selves of. And to pretend, that Fire is Vegetative, that is to fay, Plafical, is wonderfully Repugnant to the Nature of it, for whatever Nature is Plastical, it is the 'Erdexex (Endelechia) of that Body which it does form and organize, and therefore it must sier as well as exar, it must hold together and bind as well as move the Matter, when as the property of Fire is only to disperse and consume. for it puts all into an hurry and motion, and that is all that we can rationally conceive that Fire can do, when as Frost and Cold forms pretty Devices and gay Flourishes in Snow and Ice, and on Windows and Doors of Cellars. But it may be you will fay, the Greek Fathers did not mean Fire in my fense, which bears along with it such absurdities; I desire then to know in what sense they understood Fire, and if they had not been more informing, if they had defined precisely what they meant by Fire, before they would divide it into Intellective, Sensitive and Vegetative; but if they will fay one thing and mean another, they must needs bring the Reader into Errour and Misinformation. If they meant Spirit they should have faid Spirit, and if they meant Spirit properly fo called, they should have declared its Nature, that it was Substance Immaterial, or to that sense, before they di-Aributed it into its kinds.

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### SECT. XXVII.

That the Greek Fathers in dividing Fire instead of Spirit into Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, do not speak as informingly as are the Notions of Penetrability, and Indivisibility, and that a Specifick Difference in a Species, implies an opposite Difference thereto, in the opposite Species.

A ND thus I think I have clearly shewn, that the Fathers in dividing Fire into Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, do not speak tolerably and informingly: whence it will be a very easie task to shew, that they do not speak as informingly as are the Notions of Penetrability and Indivisibility. For certainly unless the Greek Fathers thought all things that are to be Material, (which there is no likelyhood in the Earth they should, the Greek Philosophy of Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle being at hand to instruct them better) if instead of Fire they had put Spirit, and intimated it to be a Substance Immaterial, they had spoke more perspicuously & more informingly than they did. This I conceive is undeniably true.

And now I appeal to your felf, Divisibility and Impenetrabilitybeing the known and univerfally acknowledged Essential Property or Character of Matter or Body, how naturally, or rather, how necessarily the opposite Species to Body, viz. Spirit is found to be Indivisible and Penetrable. As in those two opposite Species under Animal, viz. Homo and Brutum, if it be once acknowledged that Brutum is Animal Irrationale, and that Irrationale is the Specifick difference, its opposite Species Homo must needs be Animal Rationale. This is fo plain and convictive, that I cannot here but remind you of your undervaluing your cognitive Faculties, and of my prefage, that I should discover that you are able to understand more of the Nature of a Created Spirit, than you did profess in the last of those seven Propositions I above deduced from that Paragraph. For you have gone

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thus much further, namely, To the Penetrability and the Indivisibility belonging Essentially and Inseparably to the Nature of a Spirit in general, (which therefore will take in Created Spirits) which you cannot avoid the admitting of, from fo clear a method of Demonstration.

### SECT. XXVIII.

That God can create an Indivisible Being, though of a large Metaphysical Amplitude, or else he were not God.

A ND for the possibility of these proper and Essential Attributes of a Spirit, I think I have made it good in my short Discourse of the true Notion of a Spirit, against all pretended Objections. And the greatest difficulty touching the Indiscerpibility of a Spirit, acknowledged to have a Metaphysical Amplitude or Extension, can be none to him that confiders how much more easie it is to conceive what is immediately and of its own Effence one to be indifcerpible, than how that which is difcerpible into parts can at all hold together, and acknowledges the Immense Essence of the Deity, which yet is absolutely Indivisible or Indiscerpible, and the omnipotence of the same Deity, who therefore can eafily create Spirits according to the Image of himself, though with a finite Amplitude, but Indiscerpible; that is to fay, That he can create a Being, (which in that it is a Being necessarily implies Amplitude in it) which is Ens unum per se & non per aliud, and of such an Amplitude as is Indifcerpible not upon the account of its finallness, because it can be no smaller, but upon account of the Immediate union, or rather oneness of its Essence, be it as large as you pleafe.

Otherwise God were only able to create Metaphysical Monades, or Spiritual Points, answering to the Physical

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Points or Monades of Matter; than which to a fagacious and Philosophical Mind, that is throughly perswaded of the Divine Omnipotency, nothing can be more abfurd or ridiculous. And if you will say, that if he should create such a Spirit with Metaphysical Amplitude, which, though so large, himself cannot divide and sever into parts, he would thereby puzzle his own Omnipotency; the same may be said of the Metaphysical Monades, and at this rate he shall be allowed to create nothing, no not so much as Matter, nor himself indeed to be: For that cannot be God from whom all other things are not produced and created.

# SECT. XXIX.

How naturally the above-mentioned distribution in the Greek Fathers of Fire into Intellective, Sensitive and Vegetative, belongs to Spirit according to the Desinition in the preceeding Discourse of the True Notion of a Spirit: And that the Effects of the kinds of Spirit comprized in that general Desinition, are all the Phanomena in the World.

Wherefore these things being so plain, I conceive it will be no great immodesty in me to hope, that my Desinition of a Spirit being this, (an Immaterial Substance Intrinsecally indued with life and the faculty of motion) and vertually containing in it, Penetrability and Indiscerpibility, (for Immaterial includes those two as you have seen) will approve it self more informing than the defining of a Spirit by Fire, which may heat the fancy, and fill the sails of Imagination as I said before, but instructs us little or nothing of the true and proper Notion of a Spirit.

And then it being noted in that Definition, that Life and Motion intrinfecally issue from this Immaterial Substance, Spirit, here you may see how fitly the Greek Fa-

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thers division of it (not of Fire) is made into Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, and what easie and natural sence it will be. Thus I love to Philosophize without Tumour, Pomp, or Metaphors. Fire indeed is more Phantasmatical, and the Object of Sence and Fancy, but Immaterial Substance more rational, and the

Object of our Intellective Faculties. But if we love to have all our Faculties furnished and filled with Objects, we may remember that this Definition of a Spirit, viz. An Immaterial Substance intrinsecally indued with Life and a faculty of Motion, though it make no noise in it self, nor swells the fancy with such glaring Notions as Fire and Light, yet this Life and Faculty of Motion in this Immaterial Substance distributed into its kinds, represents all the Pageantry of the World, and the Pomp thereof, Fire and Light, and Clouds and Thunder, and all the Phænomena of Nature, by its actings on the Matter of the Universe; Besides the Intellectual Operations, it performs in the Rational Orders of Being. And part of that Life and Motion comprehended in that general Definition, enables me to write what I write for a more distinct Information of you, than you have from those Greek Fathers, which feem to have misinformed you touching the Nature of a Spirit, if you have not misunderstood them, and so misinformed your felf.

#### SECT. XXX.

The great Vefulness of the Notion of the Indivisibility, or Indiscerpibility of Spirits.

A ND now I have thus cleared up things, I am perfwaded, if you were again to write your Judgment of my Description of a Spirit, you would not say of Penetrability and Indivisibility, Perhaps these also may be useful, but you would come off roundly, and with assurance assurance declare, that they are not only aseful but true! For in my judgment, unless they be true, they are not uleful. For I am for no Pia fraudes, but for plain dealing, and for transacting all things Bona fide, as well in Spirituals as Temporals. But that they are true, I think I have fufficiently made good already, and hinted fome-

thing before of their usefulness.

For unless this be the Nature of a Spirit to be Indiscerpible, Philosophy affords no succour to Natural Religion, nor contributes any thing to the assurance of our Personal Sublistance after the dissolution of this Mortal Body. But the Soul being Fire, will mingle with the subtil Elements of Des-Cartes, as sure as if it were meerly Breath, it would vanish into the fost Air, as I noted above. But being acknowledged an Immaterial Being, fuch as I have described, and intrinsecally indued with Life and Motion, it is able by its Constrictive faculty or Statick power, to maintain its Vehicle against the most blustering Winds, and to keep it felf from being blown into pieces, and dispersed like Fume or Reek, and from being extinct like a Candle taken out of the Lantern, and committed to the uncertain blafts of the moveable Air. This for the Usefulness of the Indiscerpibility of Spirits.

# SECT. XXXI.

The necessary Usefulness of the Notion of the Penetrability of Spirits.

ND now for the Penetrability of Spirits, it is al-A ND now for the Fentuaring of the hear could they be the they penetrate the matter, else how could they be the Erdensky eras Endelechia thereof? and inform it and actu-And if they could not penetrate their own parts, how could they be contracted fo as to be commensurate to the Body of a small Fatus in the Womb,

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which, as I have heard from some skilful Midwives, have sometimes been found as little as a Bee, and yet in humane shape and form. But unless we will patch up a Soul by pieces to enable it to be commensurate to the Body when it is come to Mans stature, that very Soul, nothing added to it that was contracted into so small a compass before, after expands it self by degrees to the amplitude of the grown Body of a Man. Which therefore plainly implies the Penetrability of Spirits, as well as sets out the usefulness thereof. But it is sufficient to touch only upon these things.

# SECT. XXXII.

That Logical Matter and Form are nothing but Indeterminate Amplitudo and Differentia, the two Incomplex Principles of Ens quatenus Ens, and therefore imply no Physical Materiality.

TE are now come near the conclusion of your Letter, but I will take in your short Post (cript, before I consider that. You make a Spirit, say you, to be Ens, ideoque unum, verum, &c. And that True denotes the Answerableness of the Thing to its own proper Idea, and implies a right Matter and Form duly conjoined. Upon this you raise this Question, Do not you here make Spirits Material? But no doubt, fay you, whether to be called Material or Substantial, the Form is not an adjoined Thing, but the Form of a simple Essence is but an Inadequate Conceptus, making no Composition. To this I answer, That I do not make Spirits Material in any sense derogatory to their Nature and Perfections. And whereas I speak of right Matter and Form, if you had observed, that that Matter and Form I there speak of, is a Matter and Form that belongs to Ens quaterus Ens, you could not imagine that this would infer any Physical Materiality in Spirits, because it is Matter in a most general Notion prescinded

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from all particular kinds of Being whatsoever, and therefore belongs to Beings truly Immaterial as well as Material.

It is only Materia and Forma Logica, that is there meant, nor is the Form adjoined in a Physical sense to the Matter, unless where the Form and Matter are substances really distinct as the Soul of Man and his Body. But they are called also Matter and Form, though they be only mentally distinct in some other Beings; and confequently can be only mentally faid to be adjoined the one to the other, as if they had been once two, when as they are really but one thing. As you fay well, the Form of any simple Essence is but an Inadequate Conceptus of the Essence, and makes no Physical composition. See my Enchiridion Metaphysicum, cap. 2. fect. 7, 8. and you will understand there what I mean by Logical Matter and Form, which are the Incomplex Principles of Ens quaterus Ens, and are nothing else but Indeterminata Amplitudo and Differentia. So that I need no longer here infift on this matter.

### SECT. XXXIII.

The occasion of the Psychopyrists Letter, and this answer of the Author of the foregoing Discourse of the True Notion of a Spirit, and what hopes he conceived of undeceiving the Psychopyrist by engaging him to peruse that Treatise.

pardon for these curt Expressions of thoughts, which I desired concerning the Description of a Spirit. To this, I say, that your Expressions are not so curt, but that you have sufficiently conveyed your mind to me; If I be not much mistaken; And therefore pardon is not so properly due to you as thanks; and because you had a mind I should peruse some Notions of yours which you

had entertained, to know how near mine and they any C would meet, I defired you attentively and confiderately first to peruse that brief Discourse of mine touching the true and genuine Notion of a Spirit. Whereby I conceived you would easily discern what agreement or difference there were in our Conceptions touching this matter. And I having writ fo clearly and diffinctly, fo digestedly and coherently, as I thought, touching this Subject in that Treatife, I thought it also hopeful that you would fully discern Truth to be on my side, and that there were not, nor needed to be, any other Notion of a Spirit in general, than what I have so evidently and orderly fet out, and so carefully defended against all imaginable Allegations or Pretenfions.

# SECT. XXXIV.

The Impediments to true Knowledge; and the full Agreement of the Author of the foregoing Discourse with the Learned Psychopyrist in the last clause of his Letter, viz. If God make us truly holy, we shall quickly know more to our fatisfaction.

DIT I leave every one to think as well as he can in B Philosophical speculations, being assured, that every one would get to the Truth if he could reach it; It being an imperfection and blemish to him to be found in errour; Though I question whether all men take the best course to attain to truth, but they would gladly have it, if they might part with nothing for it. Not with their beloved Laziness, nor with their preconceived opinions, which they have a fondness for, because they have chanced fo long ago to espouse them, and therefore cannot abide to think of a Divorce; not with their sensual pleasures or worldly-mindedness, nor with that fweet conceit or pleasing presumption, that what they opine is more like to be true than the opinion of

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For to come to the last clause of all in your Letter. which is the best, and in which I most firmly and heartily agree with you, which is this, If God make us truly holy we shall quickly know more to our satisfaction. I think that the Purification of the Soul from all uncleanness of Flesh and Spirit, is absolutely requisite for him that would fuccessfully Philosophize, especially in Metaphyfical or Theological Speculations. And I commend your Judgment in that you fay, If God make us traly holy. By vertue of which true holiness, I suppose we shall be freed, not only from the dulness of Superstition, and bluster of Enthusiasm, from the prejudices of both our Education and Complexion, and from the unbridledness and impetuosity of our own Self-will and desires in things that look not so commendably on it; but also from any vain defire of knowledge it felf, which bears fuch a fair and commendable flew with it; We shall, I fay, condemn our felves as of a great folly and miscarriage, especially in contemplations Metaphysical, Theological and Moral, if we find fuch a falle appetite in our felves in those things, as that we would know meerly to know, or (which is worse) to be known.

Which is no found conflitution of mind, nor becoming an holy Man, who has no false appetite to knowledge, but only such as an healthful and temperate Man has to his Meat, to eat such, and so much as inables Nature rightly and firmly to perform all the Functions of the natural Life; So all desire of Knowledge in those Contemplations I spoke of before, that exceeds the only due end of such Knowledge, which is to corroborate our Faith in GOD, and in his Son JESUS CHRIST, and to confirm our Belief of a Glorious Immortality after this Life, to promote true Devotion, Mortification, and Regeneration, or the Renovation of our lapsed natures into the lost Image of God; All desire of knowledge

knowledge that tends not to this end, is but a Discase with a truely holy Man, nor relishes better with him, than to seed on Chaff, Feathers, or dry Straw, relishesh with a natural Man.

And we may be fure, he whose appetite is thus found and regular, and defires no knowledge but fuch as is the real Food of the new Birth in him, shall not fail to draw in all wholesome and useful knowledge from the Fountain of all true Wisdom, even from the Father of Lights, from whom is every good and perfect Gift, Whenas a false Appetite to knowledge, which only feeds our Pride, will expose us, besides all Fortuitous Errours, to the ludicrous impostures of vagrant Spirits, that sport themselves with the vain curiosities of deluded Mankind. Not to add that a Man thus trifles away that pretious time which is much better spent in examination of the fincerity of our own Hearts, and in earnell breathings toward God, that he would be pleafed to free us from that Bondage of Corruption we find our felves held in, and would perfect the new Birth, and confummate the Image of his Son in us, than in teafing of unnecessary notions into useless and endless Distinctnesses and Multiplicities, and such as nothing at all contribute to our great and everlasting Concern. am perfectly of your Mind in this, That he that is thus truly Holy, will soonest know more to his satisfaction: For he that feeds the young Ravens that call upon him, will never fuffer his own Birth to starve for want of due Food in the Soul of Man. And he that thus Philosophizes, affecting no Knowledge out of Curiosity, but only to feed and strengthen the Divine Birth in him, will haply know with ease more than himself had the Curiofity to know, and more than the Curiofity of those that are out of this way, are ever likely to be in a capacity to reach to of themselves, or to receive when offered to them from others.

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This will not down with all Men, but as many as are perswaded of it, it is their duty to improve it to their present satisfaction here, and everlasting comfort hereafter. I did not think to be thus large when I began my Letter, but one thing has drawn on another I know not how; but I hope nothing has passed my Pen but what may be useful to a serious and intelligent Reader. Wherefore I leave all to your candid consideration, and rest, &c.

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# Saducismus Triumphatus:

OR,

Full and Plain EVIDENCE

Concerning

# WITCHES

AND

# APPARITIONS.

## PART II.

#### PROVING

Partly by Holy Scripture, partly by a choice Collection of Modern Relations,

# The Real Existence

OF

APPARITIONS, SPIRITS, and WITCHES.

By JOS. GLANVIL, late Chaplain to His Majesty, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

LONDON,

Printed for S. Lownds, M DC LXXXVIII.

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# PREFACE.

Know it is matter of very little Credit to be a Relator of Stories, and I of all Men living, have the least reason to be fond of the Imployment. For I never had any faculty in telling of a Story, and have always had a particular indisposition and backwardness to the writing any such. But of all Relations of Fact, there are none like to give a Man such trouble and disreputation, as those that relate to Witchcraft and Apparitions, which so great a party of Men (in this age especially) do so railly and laugh at, and without more ado, are resolved to explode and despise, as meer Winter Tales and old Wives Fables. Such they will call and account them, be their Truth and Evidence what it will. For, they have unalterably fixt and determined the point, that Witches and Apparitions are things ridiculous, incredible, foppish, impossible; and therefore all Relations that assert them are Lies, Cheats and Delusions, and those that afford any credit to them, are credulous Gulls and filly easie Believers.

Which things, if they should not be so, it would spoil many a jest, and those who thought themselves great Wits, must have the discomfort of finding they are mistaken. They must fall back into common and wulgar

Sugarity, on which they valued themselves so much, and be brought to be afraid of another World, and be subjected to the common terrours which they despised before, as the juggles and contrivances of Priests and Politicians, and so must see themselves under a necessity of altering their lives, or of being undom. These are very hard and grievous things, and therefore the Stories of Witches and Apparitions must be

exploded and run down, or all is lost.

This is the case with multitudes of brisk consident Men in our days, so that to meddle on this Subject, is to affront them greatly, to provoke their rage and contempt, and to raise the Devil of their Wit and Busseonry. All which considered, it must be confest to be a very bold and adventurous thing to undertake the Province in which I have engaged. And besides the provocation which it must needs give to the Husses and Witlings, there is another sort whose good Opinion I greatly value: some sober and ingenious Spirits, who upon other grounds doubt of the Existence of Witches, who may be apt to judge me guilty of Credulity, for the pains I take in this matter. This also hath been some trouble and discouragement.

And upon the whole, I am assured before-hand, that no Evidence of Fact possible is sufficient to remove the obstinate prejudices of divers resolved Men, and therefore I know I must fall under their heavy censures; of which I have considered the worst, and am I hope pretty well prepared to bear the severest of them. But no Man would expose himself to all this for nothing, nor have I. There were reasons

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for this engagement, and they were briefly these that

follow.

Having been at Mr. Mompesson's House in the time of the disturbance, seen, and heard somewhat my self, and received an account from Mr. Mompesson, and other credible persons of the whole trouble; I was perswaded to publish, and to annex the full account of it to the second or third Edition of my Considerations concerning Witchcraft, to which the Story had near Relation. This I did, and they passed two or three Editions together, without much further trouble to me. But of late, I have heard from all parts, and am amazed at it, that so strongly attested Relation is run down in most places as a Delusion and Imposture, and that Mr. Mompesson and my self, have confessed all to be a cheat and contrivance.

Concerning this, I have been asked a thousand times, till I have been weary of answering, and the Questionists would scarce believe I was in earnest when I denied it. I have received Letters about it from known Friends and Strangers out of many parts of the Three Kingdoms, so that I have been haunted almost as bad as Mr. Mompesson's House. Most of them have declared that it was most confidently reported, and believed in all the respective parts, that the business was a Cheat, that Mr. Mompesson had confessed so much, and I the same: so that I was quite tired with denying and answering Letters about it. And to free my self from the trouble, I at last resolved to re-print the Story by it self with my Confutation of the Invention that concerned me, and a Letter I received from Mr. Mompesson (now printed in this Book) which cleared This the matter as to him.

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This accordingly I committed to my Bookfellers hands some years since to be printed. But it being not done, I was continually importuned by new Solicitations and Questions, and at length out comes Mr. Webster's confident Book, in which he faith, That my Story of the Drummer, and the other of Witchcraft, are as odd and filly, as any can be told or read, and as fictitious, incredible, ludicrous and ridiculous as any can be, p. 11. And again, p. 278. Must not all Persons that are of sound understanding, judge and believe that all those strange tricks related by Mr. Glanvil of his Drummer and Mr. Mompesson's House, which he calls the Damon of Tedworth, were abominable Cheats and Impostures, as I am informed by Persons of good Quality, they were discovered to be?

But neither did this Confidence, nor his Book (I confess) much move me; for I was very loth to be troubled any more in this matter. But at last divers Eminent Men, and Learned Friends of mine having taken notice of it, and being troubled to see so considerable an evidence against Saducism, as Mr. Mompesson's Story is, so impudently run down by purposely contrived lies, they urg'd me very much to re-print the Relation, with my Considerations about Witchcrast; and so give some check to the Insultation and

Confidence of Mr. Webster.

To this I stood long dis-inclined, but being prest by the consideration that such a Re-enforcement might be a very considerable and seasonable service to Religion, against the stupid Saducism and Insidelity of the Age, I was perswaded: And having signified my being

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ng o.v now inclined to the design, I received great encouragement from some of the greatest Spirits of our Age and Nation, who earnestly animated me to it. Having resolved, I bethought me of making a small Collection of the most credible and best attested Stories of this kind that were near and modern, to accompany the Second I had Printed, and to consirm and prove the main Subject.

# Advertisement.

This is the whole of the Preface, that was found amongst Mr. Glanvil's Papers, saving five or six words, which being superfluous to the sense of this last Clause, and beginning something else not persected, I thought better left out. But as for Mr. Mompesson's Letter to Mr. Glanvil, which is mentioned in this Preface, and designed to be Printed in this intended Edition, it is out of the Original Copy as follows.

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Mr. Mom-

Mr. Mompesson's Letter to Mr. Glanvil, Dated Nov. 8. Anno 1672.

Worthy Sir,

Eeting with Dr. Pierce accidentally at Sir Robert Button's, he acquainted me of something that passed between my Lord of R --- and your self about my troubles, &c. To which (having but little leisure) I do give you this account, that I have been very often of late asked the Question, Whether I have not confessed to His Majesty or any other, a Cheat discovered about that affair. To which I gave, and shall to my Dying-day give the same Answer, That I must bely my self, and perjure my self also to acknowledge a Cheat in a thing where I am sure there was nor could be any, as I, the Minister of the Place, and two other Honest Gentlemen deposed at the Assizes, upon my Impleading the Drummer. If the World will not believe it, it shall be indifferent to me, praying God to keep me from the same, or the like affliction. And although I am sure this most damnable lye does pass for current amongst one fort of people in the World, invented only, I think, to suppress the Belief of the Being either of God or Devil; yet I question not but the Thing obtains credit enough amongst those, whom I principally desire should retain a more charitable Opinion of me, than to be any way a deviser of it, only to be talk't of in the Worla, to my own disadvantage and reproach; of which fort I reckon you one, and rest in haste, SIR,

Nov. 8. Your obliged Servant,

1672. Jo. Mompesson.

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# Advertisement.

Concerning the Attestation of Mr. Mompesson and others upon Oath at the Assizes, the same is mentioned also, and their Names expressed in a Letter to Mr. James Collins, which Letter from the Original Copy is as follows.

Mr. Mompesson's Letter to Mr. Collins, Dated Aug. 8. Anno 1674.

SIR,

Received yours, and had given you an earlier anfwer, had I not been prevented by some Journeys.
I now give you this; That as to any additional part
of the Story, I shall not trouble you with at present,
not knowing what is either already published or omitted, in regard I have not any of Mr. Glanvil's Books
by me. I never had but one, which was the last year
borrowed of me for the use of the Lord Hollis, and is
not yet returned. But as to the business of the Assizes
(which is likely to work most on the Incredulous, because the Evidence was given on Oath) I shall here
enlarge it to you.

When the Drummer was escaped from his Exile, which he was Sentenced to at Gloucester for a Felony, I took him up, and procured his Commitment to Salifbury Gaol, where I indicted him as a Felon, for this supposed Witchcraft about my House. When the Fellow saw me in earnest, he sent to me from the Prison,

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that he was sorry for my affliction, and if I would procure him leave to come to my House in the nature of an Harvest-man, he did not question but he should do me good as to that affair. To which I sent answer, I knew he could do me no good in any honest way, and therefore rejected it. The Assizes came on, where I indicted him on the Statute Primo Jacobi, cap. 12. where you may find, that to feed, imploy, or reward any evil spirit is Felony. And the Indictment against him was, that he did quendam malum Spiritum negotiare, the Grand Jury sound the Bill upon the Evidence, but the Petty Jury acquitted him, but not without some difficulty.

The Evidence upon Oath were my self, one Mr. William Maton, one Mr. Walter Dowse, all yet living, and I think of as good Repute, as any this Country has in it, and one Mr. Jo. Cragg, then Minister of the Place, but since dead. We all deposed several things that we conceived impossible to be done by any natural Agents, as the motion of Chairs, Stools and Bed-staves, no body being near them, the Beating of Drumms in the Air over the House in clear Nights, and nothing visible; the shaking of the Floor and strongest parts of the House in still and calm nights, with several other things of the like nature: And that by other Evidence it was applied to him.

For some going out of these parts to Gloucester, whilst he was there in Prison, and visiting him, he ask't them what News in Wilts. To which they replyed, they knew none. No, says the Drummer, did you not hear of a Gentlemans House that was troubled with the Beating of Drums? They told him again, if

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that were News, they heard enough of that. Ay, says the Drummer, it was because he took my Drum from me; if he had not taken away my Drum, that trouble had never befallen him, and he shall never have his quiet again, till I have my Drum, or satisfaction

from him.

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This was deposed by one Thomas Avis Servant to one Mr. Thomas Sadler of North-Wilts, and these words had like to have cost the Drummer his Life. For else, although the things were never so true, it could not have been rightly applyed to him more than to another. I should only add, that the before-mentioned Witnesses were Neighbours, and deposed, that they heard and saw these things almost every day or night for many Months together. As to the Sculpture you intend, you best understand the advantage, I think it needless. And those Words [you shall have Drumming enough] is more than I heard him speak: I rest

Tedworth Aug. 8. 1674.

Your Loving Friend,

Jo. Mompesson.

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# AN INTRODUCTION

TO THE

Proof of the Existence of Apparitions, Spirits, and Witches.

#### SECT. I.

The great usefulness and seasonableness of the present Argument, touching Witches, and Apparitions, in subserviency to Religion.

HE Question, whether there are Witches or not, is not matter of vain Speculation, or of indifferent Moment; but an Inquiry of very great and weighty Importance. For, on the resolution of it, depends the Authority and just Execution of some of our Laws; and which is more, our Religion in its main Doctrines is nearly concerned. There is no one, that is not very much a stranger to the World but knows how Atheism and Insidelity have advanced in our days, and how openly they now dare to flew themfelves in Afferting and Disputing their vile Cause. Particularly the distinction of the Soul from the Body, the Being of Spirits, and a Future Life are Assertions extreamly despised and opposed by the Men of this fort, and if we lose those Articles, all Religion comes to nothing. They are clearly and fully afferted in the Sacred Oracles,

Oracles, but those Wits have laid aside these Diving Writings. They are proved by the best Philosophy and highest Reason; but the Unbelievers, divers of them are too shallow to be capable of such proofs, and the Thet more subtle are ready to Scepticize away those

grounds.

But there is one Head of Arguments that trouble them much, and that is, the Topick of Witches and Apparitions. If such there are, it is a sensible proof of Spirits and another Life, an Argument of more direct force than any Speculations, or Abstract reasonings, and such an one as meets with all the sorts of Infidels. On which account they labour with all their might to perswade themselves and others, that Witches and Apparitions are but Melancholick Dreams, or crafty Impostures; and here it is generally, that they begin with the young-men,

whose understandings they design to Debauch.

They expose and deride all Relations of Spirits and Witcheraft, and furnish them with fome little Arguments, or rather Colours against their Existence. And youth is very ready to entertain such Opinions as will help them to phansie, they are wifer than the generality of Men. And when they have once fwallowed this Opinion, and are fure there are no Witches nor Apparitions, they are prepared for the denial of Spirits, a Life to come, and all the other Principles of Religion. So that I think it will be a confiderable and very feafonable fervice to it, fully to debate and settle this matter, which I shall endeavour in the following sheets, and I hope so, as not to impose upon my felf or others, by empty Rhetorications, fabulous Relations, or Sophistical Reasonings, but treat on the Question with that freedom and plainness, that becomes one that is neither fond, fanciful nor credulous.

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nd the The true stating of the Question by defining what a Witch and Witchcraft is.

Know that a great part of the Labour in most Controversies, useth to be bestowed on things impertinent to the main business, and by them the Minds of both sides are so confounded, that they wander widely from the point in difference, and at last lose it quite. It would quickly be thus in the Question of Witchcraft, and usually is fo, without previous care to avoid it. But I shall take the best I can, that my pains on this Subject be not fo mif-bestowed, but closely applyed to the purpose: And in order thereunto shall briefly define the terms of the Question, and then set down what I grant to mine Adversaries, and what I demand from them. And when these Preliminaries are well adjusted, we shall proceed with more distinctness, and still see whereabout we are, and know how far what is affirmed or proved, reaches the main matter in debate.

The Question is, whether there are Witches or not. Mr. Webster accuseth the Writers on the Subject of defect, in not laying down a perfect Description of a Witch or Witchcraft, or explaining what they mean, p. 20. What his perfect Description is, I do not know; but I think I have described a Witch or Witchcraft in my Considerations, sufficiently to be understood, and the Conception which I, and, I think, most Men have is, That a Witch is one, who can do or seems to do strange things, beyond the known Power of Art and ordinary Nature, by vertue of a Confederacy with Evil Spirits.] Strange Things, not Miracles; these are the extraordinary Effects of Divine Power, known and distinguished by their circumstances, as I shall shew in due place. The strange things are really performed, and are not all Impostures and Delusions. The Witch occasions, but is not the Principal Efficient,

Efficient, the feems to do it, but the Spirit performs the wonder, sometimes immediately, as in Transportation and Possessions, sometimes by applying other Natural Causes, as in raising Storms, and inslicting Diseases, sometimes using the Witch as an Instrument, and either by the Eyes or Touch, conveying Malign Insluences: And these things are done by vertue of a Covenant, of Compast betwixt the Witch and an Evil Spirit. A Spirit, wiz. an Intelligent Creature of the Invisible World, whether one of the Evil Angels called Devils, or an Insertiour Damon or Spirit, or a wicked Soul departed; but one that is able and ready for mischief, and whether altogether Incorporeal or not, appertains not to this Question.

#### SECT. III.

That neither the Notation of the Name that signifies indifferently, nor the false Additions of others to the Notion of a Witch can any way dissettle the Authors difinition.

This I take to be a plain Description of what we mean by a Witch and Witchcrast: What Mr. Webster and other Advocates for Witches, talk concerning the words whereby these are exprest, that they are improper and Metaphorical, signifying this, and signifying that, is altogether idle and impertinent. The word Witch signifies originally a Wise Man, or rather a Wise Woman. The same doth Saga in the Latine, and plainly so doth Wizzard in English signific a Wise Man, and they are vulgarly called cunning Men or Women. An Art, Knowledge, Cunning they have that is extraordinary; but it is far from true Wisdom, and the word is degenerated into an ill sense, as Magia is.

So then they are called, and we need look no further,

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it is enough, that by the Word, we mean the Thing and Person I have described, which is the common meaning; and Mr. Webster and the rest prevaricate when they make it fignifie an ordinary Cheat, a Couzener, a Poyfoner, Seducer, and I know not what. Words fignifie as they are used, and in common use, Witch and Witchcraft, do indeed imply thefe, but they imply more, viz. Deluding, Cheating and Hurting by the Power of an Evil Spirit in Covenant with a wicked Man or Woman: This is our Notion of a Witch.

Mr. Webster I know will not have it to be a perfect Description. He adds to the Notion of the Witch he opposeth, carnal Copulation with the Devil, and real Transformation into an Hare, Cat, Dog, Wolf; the same doth Mr. Wagstaffe. Which is, as if a Man should define an Angel to be a Creature in the shape of a Boy with Wings, and then prove there is no fuch Being. Men, I would not have Mr. Webster to make my Definitions for me; we our felves are to have the leave to tell what it is that we affirm and defend. And I have described the Witch and Witchcraft, that sober Men believe and affert. Thus briefly for Defining.

#### SECT. IV.

What things the Author concedes in this Controversie about Witches and Witchcraft.

I Shall let the Patrons of Witches know what I allow and grant to them;

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First, I grant, That there are fome Witty and Ingenious Men of the opposite Belief to me in the Question. Yea, it is accounted a piece of Wit to laugh at the Belief of Witches as filly Credulity. And some Men value themselves upon it, and pride them in their supposed Sagacity of feeing the Cheat that imposeth on fo great a part of Believing Mankind. And the Stories of Witches and

and Apparitions afford a great deal of Subject for Wit

which it is pity that a witty Man should lose.

Secondly, I own that some of those who deny Witches have no design against, nor a disinclination to Religion, but believe Spirits, and a Life to come, as other sober Christians do, and so are neither Atheists, Sadducees, nor

Hobbists.

Thirdly, I allow that the great Body of Mankind is very credulous, and in this matter so, that they do be lieve vain impossible things in relation to it. That cannal Copulation with the Devil, and real Transmutation of Men and Women into other Creatures are such. That people are apt to impute the extraordinaries of Art, or Nature to Witchcraft, and that their Credulity is often abused by subtle and designing Knaves through these That there are Ten thousand silly lying Stories of Witchcraft and Apparitions among the vulgar. That infinite such have been occasioned by Cheats and Popish Superstitions, and many invented and contrived by the Knavery of Popish Priests.

Fourthly, I grant that Melancholy and Imagination have very great force, and can beget strange perswasteness. And that many Stories of Witchcraft and Appari-

tions have been but Melancholy fancies.

Fifthly, I know and yield, that there are many strange natural Diseases that have odd Symptomes, and produce wonderful and astonishing effects beyond the usual course of Nature, and that such are sometimes falsy ascribed to Witchcraft.

Sixthly, I own the Popish Inquisitours, and other Witch-finders have done much wrong, that they have destroyed innocent persons for Witches, and that Watching and Torture have extorted extraordinary Confessions

ons from some that were not guilty.

Seventhly and Lastly, I grant that the Transactions of Spirits with Witches, which we affirm to be true and certain, are many of them very strange and uncouth, and that we can scarce give any account of the Reasons

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Wit of them, or well reconcile many of those passages to the commonly received Notion of Spirits, and the State of the next World.

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If these Concessions will do mine Adversaries in this Question any good, they have them freely. And by them I have already almost spoiled all Mr. Webster's and Mr. Wagstaffe's, and the other Witch-Advocates Books. which prove little elfe, than what I have here granted, And having been so free in Concessions, I may expect that fomething should be granted me from the other party.

# Advertisement.

Hose that are mentioned in the second Concession though they are not Atheists, Sadducees nor Hobbists; ye if they deny Witches, it is plain they are Antiscripturilis, the Scripture so plainly attesting the contrary.

#### SECT. V.

The Postulata which the Author demands of his Adversaries as his just right.

THE demands that I make are; First, That whether Witches are or are not, is a question of Fact: For it is in effect, whether any Men or Women have been, or are in Covenant with Evil Spirits, and whether they by the Spirits help, or he on their account performs fuch or fuch things.

Secondly, That matter of Fact can only be proved by immediate Sense, or the Testimony of others. Divine To endeavour to demonstrate Fact by abor Humane. stract reasoning and speculation, is, as if a Man should Prove that Julius Casar founded the Empire of Rome, by

Algebra

Algebra or Metaphysicks. So that what Mr. Webstan faith, p. 43. That the true and proper mediums to prove the actions of Witches by, are Scripture and sound Reason, and not the improper way of Testimony (which we use in the opposition that Testimony stands to Scripture and sound Reason) is very Non-sense.

Thirdly, That the History of the Scripture is not all Allegory, but generally hath a plain literal and obvious

meaning.

Fourthly, That some Humane Testimonies are credible and certain, viz. They may be so circumstantiated as to leave no reason of doubt. For our Senses sometimes report truth, and all Mankind are not Lyars, Cheats, and Knaves, at least they are not Lyars, when they have no Interest to be so.

Fifthly, That which is sufficiently and undeniably proved, ought not to be denied, because we know not how it can be, that is, because there are difficulties in the conceiving of it. Otherwise Sense and Knowledge is gone as well as Faith. For the Modus of most things is unknown, and the most obvious in Nature have inextricable difficulties in the Speculation of them, as I have

fhewn in my Scepsis Scientifica.

Sixthly and lastly, we are much in the dark, as to the Nature and Kinds of Spirits, and the particular condition of the other World. The Angels, Devils, and Souls happiness and misery we know, but what kinds are under these generals, and what actions, circumstances and ways of Life under those States we little understand. These are my Postulata or demands, which I suppose will be thought reasonable, and such as need no more proof.

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# Proof of Apparitions, Spirits, and Witches, from Holy-Scripture.

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#### SECT. I.

The Authors purpose of proving Apparitions and Witchcrast, to such as believe Scripture, as first from the Apparition of Angels.

ND having thus prepared my way, I come to prove, that there are Witches against both the sorts that deny their Existence, viz. Those that believe the Scriptures, and the Wits or Witlings that will not admit their Testimony. To the sirst I shall prove the being of Witches by plain Evidence taken from the Divine Oracles, and to the other, and indeed to both, I shall evince the same by as sull and clear Testimonies, as matter of fact is capable of, and then answer the opposite Objections, and those particularly of the three late consident Exploders of Witchcrast; \* Mr. Webster, Mr. Wagstaffe, and the Author of the Doctrine of Devils.

The Proof I intend shall be of these two things, viz. That Spirits have sensibly transacted with Men, and that some have been in such Leagues with them, as to

be enabled thereby to do wonders.

These sensible Transactions of Spirits with Men, are evident from Apparitions and Possessions. The Apparition of Angels, their Discourses and Predictions, sensible converses with Men and Women, are frequently recorded in the Scripture. An Angel appeared to Hagar, Gen. 16. Three Angels in the shape of Men appeared to S 2 Abraham,

Abraham, Gen. 18. Two to Lot in the fame likeness, Gen. 19. An Angel called to Hagar, Gen. 21. 17. and fo did one to Abraham, Gen. 22. An Angel spake to and conversed with Jacob in a Dream, Gen. 31. One of the same appeared to Moses in the Bush, Exod. 3. An Angel went before the Camp of Israel, Exod. 14. An Angel met Balaam in the way. Numb. 22. An Angel spake to all the People of Israel, Judges 2. An Angel appeared to Gideon, Judges 6. and to the Wife of Manosh, Judg. 13. An Angel destroyed the People, 2 Sam. 24. An Angel appeared to Eliah, 1 Kings 19. An Angel smote in the Camp of the Assyrians 184000. 2 Kings 35. An Angel stood by the Threshing-Floor of Ornan, 1 Chron. 21. 15. An Angel talked with Zachariah the Prophet, Zach. 1.

An Angel appeared to the two Maries at our Lord's Sepulchre, Matth. 28. An Angel foretold the Birth of John Baptist to Zachariah the Priest, Luk. 1. Gabriel was sent to the Holy Virgin, Luk. 1.26. An Angel appeared to the Shepherds, Luk. 2. An Angel opened the Prison Door to Peter and the rest, Acts 5. I might accumulate many more instances, but these are enough. And many circumstances of sensible Converse belong to most of them, which may be read at large in the respective Chapters. And since the Intercourses of Angels were so frequent in former days, why should we be averse to the belief that Spirits sometimes transact with Men

now?

# Advertisement.

\* I Find among st Mr. Glanvil's Papers, the sirst Linear ments or Strokes of an Answer to Mr. Wagstaffe, and to the Author of the Doctrine of Devils, but more fully to Mr. Webster, at least Seventeen Sheets, where he answers solidly and substantially where I can read his Hand,

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but it reaches but to the Sixth Chapter. And in truth he has laid about him so well in these Sheets that are published, that those may well seem the less necessary.

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#### SECT. II.

The Evasions his Adversaries use to escape the force of these Proofs of Scripture from the Apparition of Angels, with the Author's Answer.

There are feveral Evasions, by which some endeavour to escape these Texts; as, First the Sadducees of old, and Familists of later days, who hold, to wit, these, that the Angels we read of, were but Divine Graces, the other that they were Divine Phantasms created to serve a present occasion, which ceased to be as soon as they disappeared. One would think that none that ever had read the Scriptures, should entertain such a conceit as this, that is so contrary to the account they every where give of those coelestial Creatures. But there is nothing so absurd, but some Men will embrace to

support their Opinions. Let us consider a little how differently from this vain Fancy the Scripture describes them. They are called Spirits, an Attribute given to God himself the prime Subfiftence, who is by way of eminence called the Father of Spirits, not of Phantasms. And Spirit imports as much Substance as Body, though without gross bulk. We read of Elect Angels, and the Angels that stand before the Throne of God continually, and that always behold the Face of God. Of the Fallen Angels that kept not their first Station, that are held in the Chains of Darkness; and of everlasting Fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels against the Judgment of the great Day. Both had their Order of Superiority and Inferiority, Michael and his Angels, the Dragon and his Angels. We are made little lower than the Angels. In Heaven we shall

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be as the Angels of God. Of the Day of Judgment knoweth no Man, no not the Angels. Let all the An-

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Which Descriptions of the Nature, Order, Condition, Attributes of Angels, and infinite more such up and down the Scriptures, are not applicable to Phantasms, but demonstratively prove, that the Angels of whose Apparitions we hear so frequently there, were real permanent subsistences, and not mere Phantasms and Shadows.

#### SECT. III.

That the Angels that are said to have appeared in Scripture were not Men-Messengers, but Inhabitants of the Invisible World; And whether they are and drank or no.

But T were not those Angels that so appeared, special Prophets, Divine Messengers, sometimes in Scripture confessedly called Angels? They did eat and drink with Abraham and with Lot, by which it should seem that they were real Men. But whoever shall look over the Instances alledged of the Apparition of Angels, and read them in all the Circumstances of the Text, will

plainly fee that they could not be Men.

Such could not be the Angel that spake to Abraham and Hagar out of Heaven, that conversed with Jacob in a Dream, that appeared to Moses in the Burning Bush, that appeared to Manoah, and ascended, in his and his Wise's presence, in the slame of the Sacrifice, that went before the Camp of Israel, that stood before Balaam in the way unseen by him, that smote the Army of the Assyrians, that appeared to Zacharias in the Temple, and to the Maries at the Sepulchre. These must be a fort of Beings superiour to Mankind, Angels in the proper sense, who are sometimes in Scripture called Men, begause they appear in our likeness.

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But whether these do receive refection or sustenance in their own World and State or not, I will not dispute. It is most probable, and it hath been the Doctrine both of Fathers and Philosophers, that they are vitally united to Athereal and Heavenly Bodies, which possibly may need recruits some such way, and so Angels Food may be more than a Metaphor. But certainly they cannot eat after our manner, nor feed on our gross Dyet, except in appearance only. They may make shew of doing it (as the Angel Raphael told Tobit that he did, Tob. 12. 19. All these days I did appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did see a Vision) but really they do it not. So that when Abraham's and Lot's Angels are faid to eat and drink with them, the Scripture speaks as to them it seemed. And so the Jerusalem Targum reads, and they seemed as if they did eat and drink. And we may suppose that Men's Conceptions of Angels were not very refined in those days, nor could they have born their senfible and free Converses, if they had look't on them as Creatures of a Nature so distant from their own.

And therefore afterward, when they were better understood, those to whom they appeared were struck with great dread and amazement, and thought that they should presently die. Nor do we, as I remember, read any more of the Angels eating or drinking after what seemed to Abraham and Lot. Indeed Manoah invited the Angel to eat, Judg. 13. 15. but it was before he knew he was an Angel, and it is set down in excuse of the offer, v. 16. For Manoah knew not that he was an Angel of the Lord, implying that the invitation had been

absurd if he had known it.

I have faid this in answer to the objection, though the main cause is not concerned. For though I should grant that Abraham's and Lot's Angels were Men, yet the other instances in which that could not be said or supposed, are more than enough to carry my point. That real Angels, Inbabitants of the Invisible World, did sometimes sensibly appear.

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#### SECT. IV.

That Angels are still Ministring Spirits as well as of old.

But it will be faid, when they did appear, it was upon Divine Errands, and God fent them to ferve the ends of his Government and Providence; which I grant. And God Almighty hath the fame ends to ferve still, he governs the World now, and his Providence is as watchful as ever, and the Angels are the chief Ministers of that Providence, and Ministring Spirits for our good. The Gospel was ushered in by the Apparition of Angels, and many things done by them in the carrying of it on. And why we should think they may not be sent, and should not appear on occasion now, I do not see. But this is more than I need say yet, being for the first step only to shew, that Spirits have transacted with Men.

#### SECT. V.

Proofs from the Apparitions of Evil Spirits, recorded in Scripture.

Those I have mentioned hitherto, have been good and benign Spirits, but evil Spirits have also appeared, and sensibly had to do with Mankind. My first instance of this is one of the first businesses that was in the World, the Temptation of Eve by the Devil in the Serpent. An Argument which those that adhere to the Letter of those three first Chapters cannot avoid. Evil Angels were sent among the Egyptians, Psalm 78. 49. and those passed through and smote the Land. But the Destroyers, viz. The Evil Angels were not permitted to come into the Israelites Houses, Exad. 12. 23. When God asked Sathan whence he came, 300 1.7. he answered,

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from going to and fro in the Earth. By Divine permiffrom he raised the great Wind that blew down the House
upon Job's Children, v. 19. and smote his Body all over
with Boyls, Job 2.7. He tempted our Saviour in an
external sensible way, carrying him from place to place,
and urging the Son of God to worship him, Matth. 4.
But more of this will appear by considering the second
head proposed, viz. Possession of Evil Spirits.

#### SECT. VI.

Proofs from Possession of Evil Spirits, and that they were not Diseases, as the Witch-Advocates would have them.

That such Possessions have been, we find frequently and plainly delivered in the History of the Gospel, and so often, that I shall not need to recite particulars. The Evasion that the Witch-Advocates have for this, is, that the Devils and unclean Spirits spoken of in those places, which our Saviour is said to have cast out, were strange and uncommon Diseases, which the Jews thought to be Devils, and Christ who came not to teach Men Philosophy, complyed with their deceived apprehension, and the Evangelists speak according to their conceit in this matter. But if this Answer must pass, then in the first place,

Farewel all Scripture, it may be made to say what we please; and if when the Scripture speaks in a plain History of unclean Spirits and Devils, we may understand Diseases by it, then what we read of good Angels may be Graces and Vertues, and what we read of Christ himself, may all be interpreted of the Christ within, and so all the Scripture, and all Religion shall signific what any Man

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Secondly, The cure of Diseases is mentioned in many of the Texts, distinctly from the casting cut of the De-

vils. Thus Matth. 10. 1. He gave the Disciples power adcon against unclean Spirits to cast them out, and to heal all man. tinct ner of sicknesses, and all manner of Diseases. This was a ows, different Power from the former, and all manner of sick. e cam nesses and diseases implies the uncommon and extraor. Savior dinary, which our Sadducees would have the Devils to could be, viz. Diseases, as well as the ordinary and usual one are. So Luke 6. 18. He healed them of their Diseases, and those that were vexed with unclean Spirits, were brought to him, and he healed them likewife. And most plainly, Matth. 4. 24. And they brought unto him all fick people, that were taken with divers Diseases and Torments, and those that were possessed with Devils, and those that were Lunatick, and those that had the Palsie, and he healed them. The Mad-men, and those that had the Falling. Sickness, the Diffempers which the Witch-Advocates make Devils of, are here mentioned apart, and as distinct from those Devils our Saviour cast out.

Thirdly, Many things are attributed to those Devils that were cast out, which are not applicable to Diseafes. The Devils in the Possessed among the Gergasens, Matth. 18. 16. befought Christ, faying, If thou cast w out, Suffer us to go away into the Herd of Swine, and he gave them leave, Mark 5.8. Sure the Difeafes did not befeech him; But perhaps the men did. Had they a mind to go into the Swine? and did they enter into them? A fort of poffession this, that was never heard of, a Beast possest with a Man. But St. Luke tells us, they were the Devils that went out of the Men, and entered into the Swine, Luke 8.33. The Men did not go out of themselves, and therefore, if what went out was not the Di-

sease, it was really the Devil or unclean Spirit. So Luke 4. 33. In the Synagogue there was a Man that

had a Spirit of an unclean Devil, and cryed out with a loud Voice, faying, Let us alone, &c. Well, but might not this be the man himself that cryed out so? There-

fore read a little on, v. 35. And Jesus rebuked him, viz. him that spake, saying to the same still, Hold thy peace

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And that those ejected Devils were not Diseases apeases, pears farther, Matth. 12. v. 22. There was brought unto him, one possessed with a Devil, blind and dumb, and he healed him, insomuch (to wit, the consequence of the rople, ejecting the Devil was) that the blind and dumb both spake and faw. The Pharifees, v. 24. impute this casting out Devils to a Confederacy with Beelzebub the Prince of the Devils; our Saviour there argues, that then Sathan hould be divided against himself: namely, Beelzebub the chief against the inferiour Devils that he cast out; who are of his Kingdom, and doing the work of it: For there it follows, that his Kingdom could not stand, v. 26. These things will be hardly applyed to Diseases. And,

Fourthly and lastly, If the Evangelist should call Diseases Devils, and unclean Spirits, and speak of casting out Devils in an History with all the plainness and expresness of Words, and Phrase, and Circumstance, that fuch an action could be described by, and yet mean nothing of it, what would this suggest, but that they faisly alcribed to Christ wonders that he never did, and consequently that they were Lyars and Deceivers, and vain Impostors? For clear it is, that whoever shall read those passages in the Gospel without a prepossest Opinion, will be led into this belief by them, that our Saviour did really cast Devils out of Persons possest. And if there be really no fuch thing as Possession by Evil Spirits, but only Diseases by the ignorant and credulous people taken for fuch, then the History imposeth on us, and leads Men into a perswasion of things done by the Power of Christ that never were. And what execution this will do upon the truth, and credit of the whole History, is SECT. very easie to understand.

#### SECT. VII.

That the Witch-Advocates cannot elude Scripture-Testimon of Possession by Evil Spirits, by saying it speaks according to the received Opinions of Men.

But the Scripture doth, we know, speak often according to the received Opinion of Men, though they are errors, which it is not concerned to rectifie,

when they concern no Morality or Religion.

But first, The Doctrine of Spirits and Devils was not the received Opinion of all the Jews: The Sada cees a considerable Sect were of another mind. So that the Sorries of ejecting such, must look to them as happeners. And the Scriptures were not written only for the Jews, and for that particular time alone, but for all Places and all Ages. Most of which have no such use of calling Difeases Devils, and among them the History must either convey a false Opinion, or lose the Reputation of its Truth.

Secondly, Though the Scripture doth not vary from the common forms of Speech, where they are grounded upon harmless and lesser mistakes, yet when such are great and dangerous, prejudicial to the glory of God, and Interest of Religion, it is then much concerned to reform and rectify such errours. And according to the Belief of the Witch-Advocates, the Doctrine of Possessions is highly such. For it leads to the Opinion of Witch-crast, which they make such a Dismal and Tragical Error, Blasphemy, an abominably Idolatrous, yea an Atheistical Doctrine, the grand Apostasie, the greatest that ever was or can be, that which cuts off Christs Head, and Un-Gods him, renounceth Christ and God, and owns the Devil, and makes him equal to them, &c. As the Author of the Grand Apostasie raves.

And Mr. Webster saith little less of this Opinion in his Preface, viz. That it tends to advance Superstition and

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opery, is derogatory to the Wisdom, Justice and Proidence of the Almighty, tending to cry up the Power f the Kingdom of Darkness, to question the verity of he principal Articles of the Christian Faith, concernng the Resurrection of Christ, and generally tends to he obstructing of Godliness and Piety.

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And Mr. Was staffe loads it with as dreadful imputations in his Preface; As that it doth necessarily infer pluality of Gods by attributing Omnipotent effects to more than one, and that it supposeth many Omnipotents, and many Omniscients. If any thing of this be fo, certainly ourSaviour's inspiredHistorianswould not have connived at much less would they have spoken in the Phrase, that supposeth and encourageth a common Error, that leads to fuch an horrid Opinion.

#### SECT. VIII.

An Answer to an Objection from Christs not mentioning his casting out Devils to John's Disciples, amongst other Miracles:

BUT faith the Author of the Grand Apostasie, p. 34. our Saviour himself in his Answer to the Disciples of John the Baptist, Luke 7. doth not pretend to the calting out Devils, but only the cure of Diseases, and raising the Dead. To which I fay, First, We may not argue negatively from Scripture in fuch matters, and certainly we ought not to argue from filence in one place, against plain affirmations in many.

Secondly, Our Saviour answers in reference to the things he was then doing, when the Disciples of John came to him, v. 21. And in that same hour he cured many of their Infirmities and Plagues. Evil Spirits, it must be confessed, are also mentioned. Some of those Diseases it is like were occasioned by Evil Spirits, as Matth. 12. 22.) the blindness and dumbness of the possessed person

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there was. And then the ejection of the Evil Spirit implyed, when the Disease is said to be Cured.

Thirdly, The business of John's Disciples was to en or p. quire whether he was the Messiah, and it was fit our s viour in his Answer should give such proofs of his being fo, as were plain and palpable. Go your way, faith he and tell John what things ye have seen and heard, Luke; 22. They had heard him Preach the Gospel it is like and had feen him cure Difeafes. Thefe things were plan and sensible, and could admit of no dispute or doubt. But whether the Distempers Christ then healed, were inflicted by Evil Spirits, and whether those were cast out in the Cure, did not plainly appear at that time. Our Saviour therefore did not bid them mention that lastance to their Master John, because they could not testifie it on their own knowledge, as they could the things themselves saw and heard.

#### SECT. IX.

An Answer to two more Objections; the one, that St. John mentions no casting out Devils in his Gospel; the other, that to have a Devil, and to be mad are Synonyma's.

DIIT the passionate Witch-Advocate goes on. St. D John the Evangelist, who especially sets himself upon the proof of the Godhead of Christ, hints nothing of his ejecting Devils. Which one would think should be no proof, fince the other three do; and St. John chiefly supplyed what they omitted. And fince this Evangelist so particularly sets himself upon the proof of Christs Divinity, he mentions no Miracles, which were the proof, but fuch as were fensible and indisputable. And our Author himself after p. 41. faith, That the cure of Diseases was more for Christ's Honour, and the proof his Godhead, than the casting out Devils could have been. For possibly, faith he, in that, there might

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So that he answers and contradicts himself at once: for p. 34. he saith, It hath been a great oversight in it. John to neglect such an Argument. If such a thing had ever been, this would have proved him to have been God indeed, and his Power paramount above all Principalities and Powers, &c. p. 35. And yet now curing Diseases proves it better, and the casting out Devils will scarce do it at all, since it might, adds he, be in some fort credible, that he did it by savour, connivance, compliance, complotment, which is upon the Borders of the highest Blasphemy.

Again it is alledged by this Writer, that to have a Devil, and to be mad, feem to be Synonyma's in Scripture, p. 35. I answer, Possession begot a certain mavia survey, and madness; and therefore when any were extravagant, the Jews said in common speech, that they had a Devil, as we do, The Devil is in you, that is, you ast unreasonably and madly. But as we do not mean by this Metaphorical Possession to exclude the belief of a real, so neither did they. Yea, the very Phrase, he hath a Devil, or the Devil is in him, applyed to those that ast suriously and unadvisedly, doth imply, that there is such a real thing as diabolical Possession, to which madness and extream folly are resembled.

See then how the Patrons of Witches argue, The Jews fometimes used the having a Devil Metaphorically; therefore there are no other Possessions, or therefore all those passages of Scripture, in which they are literally and plainly related, intend no other. Indeed if we argued from meer words and expressions of having Devils, and casting out Devils, there would be somewhat of more colour in our Adversaries reasoning. But since we infer chiefly from plain circumstances of History and

fact, there is no force at all in it.

### SECT. X.

The Ignorance of the Author of The Grand Apostasse, in his interpreting the Word Δαιμόνιον.

But what doth this Writer mean, when he tells us auphotor can scarce signific any thing else properly, but an unusual affliction from God, such as madnels; when all Men and Boys know that Substantively it is the fame with Daluar Damon, taken already in Scripturein an ill sense for an impure Spirit. Adjectively it signifies fometimes Divinum quid, but so it is not understood in the places we dispute about, Luk, 4. 35. When the Devil had thrown him, the possessed Man, in the midst, he came out of him, the word is, to Daylovior. The same v. 33. is called Trevua Samovis anabapts. By which and the latter circumstances of the History, it plainly appears, that 70 Sambyrov, is to be understood Substantively for a Perfon, viz. an Evil Spirit. So in the Story of the Devils entring into the Herd of Swine, Luke 8. 33. the word we Translate Devils is va Saubora, called v. 29. 7110 pt and daero", and the same Matth. 8. 29. Daywores. Besides the force of which words, I have shewn, that the Story also determines them to a Substantive and Personal meaning.

But the Author saith, That Dauphonov can hardly, with propriety, signifie any thing else but an extraordinary affliction from God, because of its derivation from Saipan, p. 37. One would wonder at the confidence of these Men, especially in their pretended Criticisms, by which they would impose what sense upon words they please. Daipan it is notoriously known signifies Damon, taken often in the ill sense, and so particularly in the place newly mentioned, deriving from Saip scio, which degenerates here, as in Saga, Witch, Wizzard and the like, and what then

should this Author by this mean?

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## SECT. XI.

Whether there were no feats, performed by the Demoniacks in the Gospels, but what Mad-men might perform.

I T is further Objected by this Writer, that there are no Feats Recorded of those supposed Demoniacks, but what Mad-men could perform and often do. In which, he considered not the Spirits in the Possess, in the Country of the Gergasens, Matth 8. 29. St. Mark and St. Luke write Gadarens, the Countries lye near together. Josephus reckons Gadara among the Grecian Cities which Pompey took from the Jews, and according to

him the people were mostly Syrians.

In this Country where our Saviour had not been before, nor after, that we read, two possest with Devils, who had lived among the Tombs, out of the Conversation of Mankind, met him, and presently cried out; What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God, art thou come to torment us before the time? Was there nothing now beyond the rate of ordinary Mad-men in this? How did they, who lived in fuch a difmal folitude among the Tombs, in a place where no Man passed, come to know this was Jesus, who never had been thereabout before, as far as we can hear? Or how came those Madmen to know, and utter fuch a great truth, which our Saviour did not presently publish, That he was the Son of God? Did any come near to whisper this in their Ear? Or was this a raving fancy only? St. Mark writes (who speaks but of a fingle Demoniack) that when he fait fe-Jus afar off, he came and worshipped him. He knew him presently, and understood his crue condition before most of the Jews about him; and even some of his own Disciples did. Could a meer Madman have done so? But further they expected torment, and from him, in the time to come, though they looked not for it so foon. Art thou come to torment us before the time? How

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How applicable is this to the condition of evil Spirits

and their expectations?

We have a like acknowledgment of our Saviour from another unclean Spirit, Mark 1. 24. I know thee who thow art, the Holy One of God. And our Saviour in what he faith, in answer plainly, implies it was the Evil Spirit, not the Mad-man that spake, or at least caused the confession. Hold thy peace and come out of him, v. 25. And that the Demoniacks did things beyond the force of meer Mad-men, is further sufficiently declared in the History, Mark 5. No man could bind him, no not with Chains; because he had been often bound with Fetters and Chains, and the Chains had been pluckt in sunder by him. I would fain know, whether this be not beyond the force of meer natural madness?

# Advertisement.

Harto the Paper was the same, and the Hand the same, and so far of the Copy transcribed. Afterward the Hand alters, and is Mr. Glanvil's own Hand, but with an Hiatus of above half a Sheet of unwrit Paper between, but the Number of the Pages is continued. Something there was to intervene, to make a more full Connexion; but yet what follows, is of the same suit, and produced to prove out of Scripture the Negotiation of Evil Spirits with their Clients.

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## SECT. XII.

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Further proof of the Negotiation of Evil Spirits with their Clients from the History of the Magicians of Egypt; Mr. Wagstaffe, Mr. Webster, and the Author of The Doctrine of Devils, their Evasions proposed and answered.

IN the general, they all say the same thing; viz. That the Magicians were Jugglers, who by their Tricks and Legerdemain, imposed upon Pharaoh and the Agyptians. Mr. Waestaffe is so modest, as not to describe the manner of the performance. But Mr. Webster thus; The Magicians holding a Rod in their hands, and seeming to throw it down upon the ground, how soon might they throw down an Artificial Serpent inits stead, and immediately and unperceivably make conveyance of the Rod, This is his feat: and for the changing Water into Blood, and the producing of Frogs, he faith, they were so easie to be done after the same manner, that they need not any particular explication, p. 155. This is the main answer, after a great deal of Impertinence, and Mr. Webster hath done his business.

But the Author of The Doctrine of Devils, hath devifed a more particular way for this Juggle. 'Tis probable, he saith, that these Men having the Art or Knack of Making, Graving, or Carving the Pictures of Men, Beafts, Serpents, Reptiles, &c. had the Feat also of Colouring, Painting, and Fucussing of them also, and so might easily, especially in the dark, or by their Juggling-Feats, as the Text intimates, make a Rod look like a Serpent, &c. p. 114. But besides these Knavish Painters, the Man hath found other Jugglers to help on the Deceit; Subtle and politick Oratours, who with fallacious Arguments, cunning pretences, and plausible Rhetorick could so disguise Truth, and flourish upon Knavery and Falshood, that Falshood should

feem Truth, and Truth Falshood, p. 115.

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Whatever the Magicians of Pharaoh were, any one that considers these Answers, would take the Framers of them for Colourers, Changers, Perverters of the Face of things, as this Author speaks, cunning Orators, Jugglers, Hocus-Pocus, Hiccim-Doccius, whip! the Serpents, Blood and Frogs are gone. But let us look a little nearer to the business, and to these subtle Men, Witches of Orators, and examine what they tell us in

the light of the Text and impartial Reason.

The Text saith, Aaron cast down his Rod before Pharaoh, and before his Servants, and it became a Serpent, v. 10. And v. 11, 12. The Magicians of Ægypt, they also did in like manner with their Enchantments. For they cast down every man his Rod, and they became Serpents, but Aaron's Rod swallowed up their Rods. Now, say the Witch-Advocates, the Magicians were Jugglers, they did not in like manner, they did not cast down their Rods, but made conveyance of them, they were not Serpents but Pietures. Which are plain contradictions to the Text, arbitrary Figments, that have no ground. And if Men may seign what they will, and put what borrowed sense they please upon plain Relations of Fact, all History will be a Nose of Wax, and be easily shaped as the Interpreter has a mind to have it.

Secondly, If this were so, and the Serpents were but Artificial Pictures; 'tis strange, that neither Pharaoh; nor his Servants should perceive the difference between the Carved or Painted Serpents, and the real ones; except they suppose also that Pharaoh contrived the business in a dark Room on purpose, as the Author of The Dostrine of Devils seems to intimate. And 'tis stranger yet, that neither Moses nor Aaron that were concerned to detect the Impossure that was so gross and thick, should not discern it; or if they did, 'tis as strange, that they should keep the Jugglers counsel, and say nothing

of it.

Thirdly, Aaron's Serpents are faid to have swallowed up those of the Magicians. What, did they swallow the Wiers

Wiers and Pictures? It feems they were very artificially done indeed, that the true Serpents mistook them for real ones, as the Birds once did the Painted Grapes. But it would be more wonderful yet, if all were but the Oratory of the Magicians, for then the Serpents ate their Words and Rhetorick.

Fourthly, Moses and Aaron turned the Rivers into Blood, v. 20. and the Magicians of Ægypt did so with their Enchantments, v. 22. They caused Frogs to come up, and to cover the Land, Ch. 8. v. 6. and the Magicians did fo, and brought up Frogs on the Land of Ægypt, v. 7. Now, how did the Jugglers do this, with Painting and Fucusting? or how, by Legerdemain and Slight of Hand were the Waters made Blood, and the Frogs brought up out of the Rivers on the Land? To turn a little Water into the appearance of Blood, was not the thing that was like to what Moses and Aaron did, and to shew an Artificial Frog. Two or Three was not bringing up of Frogs on the Land of Agypt, which implies, multitudes that covered the ground. So that the Hocus-Pociss Tricks, and Juggling and Painting, will not colour this part of the Story. And I should wonder at Mr. Webster, if he did not afford so many occasions of wondring at him, when he passed this so slightly over, saying, p. 155. As to the changing Water into Blood, and the producing of Frogs, they were so easie to be done after the same manner, viz. by Wiers and Juggling, that they need not any particular explication, for by this the manner of their performance may most easily be understood. How shall one deal with these Men, and what will not their confidence affirm?

Fifthly, 'Tis very strange also how those Jugglers should know what signs Moses and Aaron would shew, and accordingly surnished themselves with counterfeit Serpents, Blood and Frogs against the time; or had they those always in their Pockets? If not, it was great luck for them that Moses and Aaron should shew those very Miracles sirst, that they were provided to imi-

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Sixthly and Lastly, If the Magicians did all this by Tricks and Juggling, may not one fear what Opinion these Men have of the same things done by Moses and Aaron? These indeed out-did the others in divers sollowing Instances, but may not they say, that that was by their having more Cunning and Dexterity in the Art of Juggling? If they or their Proselytes have a mind to say thus, they may by their Principles, which will serve them to elude the History, in reference to Moses and Aaron, as well as it doth in relation to the Magicians. They may with as much modesty turn all into Allegory and Metaphor.

I think by all this it appears, that this shift of the Witch-Advocates is very vain, and that what the Magicians did, was not mere Juggling, much less only Politick Oratory and Rhetorick. As if those Magicians by their Eloquence could perswade Pharaoh and his Servants against their Senses, as these Patrons of Witches endeavour to do by us, they being the greatest Witches in their own sense that are extant, and some of them are

belyed, if they are not fo in other fenses.

## SECT. XIII.

That what the Magicians of Ægypt did perform, was at least by an Implicit Confederacy with Evil Spirits.

Ell! If there be any truth in the History, the Magicians were not only Couzeners and Hocus-Pocus Men; there was something done that was extraordinary beyond Man's Art and Contrivance, or the effects of ordinary Nature. And therefore must have either God, or some Spirit or Damon, one or more for the Author. The former no one saith, the Hand of God in this was only permissive. Therefore it is plain the Magicians did this by Spirits, Creatures of the Invisible World. The Text saith, by their Enchantments, per ar-

dana, the vulgar Latin reads. Which because it is a general word, Mr. Wagstaffe takes hold of it, and determines it to fecret and fly Tricks, those of Legerdemain and Conzenage, when as it is as applicable to any kind of fecret (and so to the Diabolical Art and Confederacy) as to his sense. And that it is so to be understood here, is plain from the matter of the History. By those arcana (others read incantationes, veneficia) they did those ftrange things, viz. by fecret Confederacy with Spirits. they obliged them to perform the wonders.

But what did the Spirits do, were the Serpents Blood and Frogs real or apparent only? I am not obliged to fay. who is of one Opinion, and who of another in this, it The reality of the performance is most matters not. easie, and most suitable to the sacred Story, and there is no difficulty in conceiving that Spirits might suddenly convey Serpents, with which Agypt abounded, into the place of the Rods, which they might unperceivably fnatch away after they were thrown down; This they could do, though the Magicians of themselves could not. And they might be provided for the performances by knowing the Command God had given Moses and Aaron, concerning the things he would have them do; which the Magicians could not know, at least not but by them

And for the Blood and the Frogs, they might by Infusion, or a Thousand ways that we cannot tell, make the Water to all appearance Bloody, or perhaps really transmute some (we know not the extent of their powers.) And to bring up the Frogs from the Lakes and the Rivers, was no hard thing for them to effect, though impossible for the Magicians to do by Tricks of Juggling. We see the sence of the History is plain, and easie in our way, but forced, harsh, contradictious, and most absurd in the Interpretation of the Hag-Advocates.

To make the Inference from these Magicians to my point, yet more plain and demonstrative, I shall further

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take notice, that if we do not suppose a Confederacy, and formal compact between them and the Spirits they act by, it must at least be granted, that those Magicians had a way to oblige them to act, either by Words or Ceremonies, which they have bound themselves to attend in order to surther familiarity with the persons that so employ them, and at last to explicit Compacts: And even this is sufficient for what I would infer.

I have thus dispatcht a great Argument briefly, and yet I hope fully; Mr. Webster is after his manner very voluminous about it. But all he hath said in Five or Six Leaves in Folio to the purpose, is in those few Lines I have recited. All the rest is sensless, rambling Impertinence, amusing his Readers with Astives, and Passives, Mecassaphims, Hartummims, Talesmans, wonderful Cures, and the vertues of Plants, telling Stories, and citing scraps from this Man, and from that, all which serve only for Ostentation, and the Deception of the inudicious, but signific nothing to any purpose of Reasoning.

## SECT. XIV.

The other grand Instance of Confederacy with Evil Spirits, in the Witch of Endor, whom Saul consulted. A brief and plain Narration of the Story.

Witch of Endor. The Story of her is related, 1 Sam. 28. and is briefly thus. Samuel was dead, v. 3. and the Philistines gathered themselves against Saul, and pitcht in Gilboa, v. 4. Saul on this was much afraid, v. 5. and enquired of the Lord, but had no answer from him, v. 6. Alpon this he bid his Servants find him out a Woman that had a Familiar Spirit, that he might enquire of her. They told him of one at Endor, v. 7. He disguised himself, and with two Men by night went to her, desired her

her to divine unto him, by her Familiar Spirit, and to bring up him whom he should name, v. 8. The Woman suffirst excused her self, minding him how dangerous such a business might be to her, since Saul had cut off those that had Familiar Spirits, and the Wizza ds out of the Land. So that she was a fraid that this Proposition of his was a snare for her Life, v. 9. But Saul assured her by swearing, that no barm should come to her for this

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She then askt him whom she should bring up, and he said, Bring me up Samuel, v. 11. Samuel accordingly begins to appear, and when the Woman saw him, she cried with a loud Voice, being much surprized, it seems, to see Samuel in good earnest, whom she probably expected not, but some Familiar in his likeness. By this she knew Saul, v. 12. He heartens her again, and asks whom she saw. She answers, she saw Gods ascending out of the Earth, an usual Hebraism, the Plural for the Singular Number, Gods, to wit, a Spirit, v. 13. Saul asks what Form he was of, she answered, an Old Man cometh up, and he is covered with a Mantle. Then Saul perceived it was Samuel, and he bowed himself to him to the ground, v. 14.

Samuel ask't why he had disquieted him to bring him up? He declares the distress he was in, and his desire to know what he was to do, v. 15. Samuel reproves him, and declares his Fate, viz. That the Lord had rent the Kingdom from him, and given it to David, v. 17. That the Israelites should be delivered into the hands of the Philistines, and that Saul and his Sons should to mortow be with him, viz. in the state of the Dead, as eventually it was, v. 19. This is the History, and one would think it speaks very plainly, but nothing is plain to prejudice. The Patrons of Witches labour hard to avoid this evidence, and I shall propose and consider their

shifts and slights of answering.

## SECT. XV.

The Evasion of Mr. Reginald Scot, concerning the Witches Closet proposed and consuted.

R. Reginald Scot, the Father of the modern Witch.
Advocates, orders the matter thus. When Saul, faith he, had told her that he would have Samuel brought up to him, the departed from his presence into her Clofet, where doubtless she had her Familiar, to wit some lewd crafty Priest, and made Saul stand at the Door like a Fool (as it were with his Finger in a hole) to hear the Couzening Answers, but not to see the Couzening handling thereof, and the counterfeiting of the matter. And so goeth she to work, using ordinary words of Conjuration, &c. So belike after many such words spoken, she faith to her felf; Lo! now the matter is brought to pass. I see wonderful things. So as Saul hearing these words longed to know all, and askt her what she saw. Whereby you know that Saul saw nothing, but stood without like a Mome, whilst she plaid her part in her Closet, as may most evidently appear by the Twenty first Verse of this Chapter, where it is faid, Then the Woman came out to Saul, &c. Scot, p. 108.

Now this is not interpreting a Story, but making one. For we read nothing of her Closet, or her going from Saul into it, nothing of the crafty Priest she had there, or of Saul's standing at the Door like a Fool, like a drowned Puppy, Mr. Webster has it, (very respectful Language for a Prince in distress!) nothing of the words of Conjuration, or of the Womans talk to her

felf, but all this is Whimfey and Fiction.

And according to this way of interpreting, a Man may make what he will of all the Histories in the Bible, yea in the World. If one may supply, and put in what he pleaseth, any thing may be made any thing.

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But Mr. Scot faith, it evidently appears that Saul faw othing, but stayed without like a Mome, whilst she layed her part in her Closet. It evidently appears by he Twenty first Verse of this Chapter, where 'tis said. Then the Woman came out unto Saul. Is it not evident from bence, that the had a Closet, how else should the come out? But the mischief of it is, there is nothing of coming out in the Text, or any Version of it. Our Translation is, And the Woman came unto Saul. The vulgar Latin, Ingressa est, she came in, which implies that she went out of Doors rather, than into her Closet. The Septuagint read donader i youn, being the same sense with the vulgar Latin. The Chaldee Paraphrase simply she came. So the Syriack and the Arabick: But we find nothing of coming out any where but in the Discoverer. So that here is a Text made too, as well as many a groundless Comment.

But whether she only came to Saul, or in or out to him, it matters not much, for it implies only that she withdrew, while Saul communed with Samuel, out of respect and after the Communication, she returned and found the King in great disorder, and what is this to a Closet?

## SECT. XVI.

Two of Mr. Webster's Arguments for the Witches Closet proposed and answered.

BUT Mr. Webster pursues the business in the behalf of the Discoverer; First, If they were in the same Room, and Samuel a visible Object, how comes it to pass that Saul saw him not? Mr Glanvil, saith he, must pump to find it out, p. 169. But doth not Mr. Webster know, that it is usual in Apparitions (and he owns there are such) for the Spirit to appear to one, when it is not visible to another, though in the same Room, and every

every ways capable of feeing? In the Famous Story of For the Walker and Sharp, recited by him, p. 299, 300. which require he confesseth to be of undoubted verity, he faith, it mexpe was reported, that the Apparition did appear in Coun upon f to the Judge, or Fore-man of the Jury (and I have from other hands very credible attestation that it was so) but the rest saw nothing. Many other well attested Relations of this kind speak of the like, and there are Innumerable Stories of people that have their fecond fight as they call it, to wit, a faculty of feeing Spectres when others cannot differn them. In which there is nothing. either impossible, or unlikely. And why then should there be need of fo much pamping to answer this Objection?

Samuel it feems appeared to the Woman a little before Saul saw him, shewing himself so, it may be, to prepare Saul for the terrible fight by degrees, lest the fuddenness of it might have affrighted him into an incapacity of hearing what he had to fay to him. Or it may be the Body of the Woman, or some other thing in the Room might interpose between Saul, and the first appearance of Samuel, or he might be at an unfit distance, or out of due light to see presently as she did. So that there is no need of supposing them to be in two

Rooms on this account.

But Secondly, He argues further for the Closet, or another Room; The Woman cried out with a loud Voice when she saw Samuel; What need of that, saith he, if they were in one Room, might not an ordinary tone make him to have heard her? 'Tis like it might, but that was not the cause of her crying out, but her furprise to see Samuel (if it were the real Samuel) when the expected only her Familiar, appearing in some refemblance of him. And 'tis like there were circumstances in this Apparition, which she had never seen before, that might on the sudden affright and amaze her. And if it were Samuel indeed, which is very probable, the fight of him affured her that the Inquirer was Saul.

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ory of cor though the might not conclude it presently from his equiring her to raise Samuel, yet when he really and mexpectedly appeared, it was plain that he was come moon some great Errand, and with whom could he prohably have fuch business as with Saul? So that she feeing him, the importance of his appearance, and the Relation he had to Saul, brought the King presently to her mind, and with him her fears, and that this was one cause of her crying out, is plainly intimated in the next words. And the Woman spake to Saul, Saying, Why half thou deceived me, for thou art Saul, v. 12. And that he was affrighted at that knowledge, is implied in Saul's assuring her again, against her fears in his immediate answer. And the King Said unto her, Be not afraid. v. 13.

Besides this, there is another thing that may be collected from the Text, which might occasion her aftonishment and crying out. For as soon as Saul had said. Bring me up Samuel, v. 11. it immediately follows, v. 12. And when the Woman faw Samuel, the cryed with a loud voice. It feems he appeared before the had performed her usual Conjurations (so little ground is there for what Mr. Scot talks of her words of Conjuration, and those she spake to her self) and upon that she was surprised and affrighted.

## SECT. XVII.

Other Arguments of Mr. Webster for a Room distinct from that Saul was in, proposed and answered.

A. Webster's third Argument to prove a Closet, is IVI that it had been incongruous for Saul to have askt, what saweit thou, if they had been in one Room. But what is the incongruity, or what the wonder, if one in his condition should speak incongruously?

His Fourth and Fifth Arguments, are to prove that Saul Saul had yet seen nothing, when he askt the Woman upon her Out-cry, what she had seen. They prove, that she saw the Apparition sirst, which is granted, but her being in another Room, cannot thence be inferred, as I have shewn, though that be the thing he should make

out, or all is impertinent.

The Sixth Argument is, that after all, Samuel was but coming up. An Old Man cometh up, which proves nothing for Mr. Webster, but against him; For now, she shews him to Saul. She saw the first beginning of his appearing, which Saul did not. When he was rifen higher out of the Earth, she shews him to the King, who, 'tis faid, perceived then it was Samuel, and bowed himself, v. 14. which is very easie and congruous, applied to one and the same Room. And what then makes Mr. Webster insult in the Conclusion of this Argument in these words; Now let Mr. Glanvil consider, and anfiver whether it be not only intimated, but clearly holden forth in the Text, that either they were in two Rooms, or that nothing visible did appear before Saul, p. 171. His feeing nothing at first I grant, but the Two Rooms there is no ground for, and hodoth not prove it. Whether he did not see Samuel after, I shall now inquire. Hitherto I have nothing to do, but with the conceit of the Closet, or the other Room which Mr. Scot made for the Woman, and Mr. Webster endeavours to uphold, with much good will, but little fuccefs.

## SECT. XVIII.

Convincing Arguments brought to prove that Saul saw Samuel, which frustrates the Figment of two Rooms.

A Fter all, if he really saw the Apparition, the Figment of the two Rooms is gone, or at least signifies nothing to their purpose. This the Text intimates plainly. She said, Anold Man cometh up, and he is co-

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vered with a Mantle, and it follows, And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he stooped with his face to the

ground, and bowed himself, v. 14.

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He perceived it was Samuel, he perceived it, faith Mr. Webster, by the Description of the Woman. But she had only said, An Old Man cometh up covered with a Mantle: This is but a very general Description, why must that needs notifie Samuel? Could the Devil reprefent no other old Man in a Mantle, or could none of the dead appear fo but Samuel only? By these words alone Saul could not certainly perceive that it was he. But he perceived this fo, that he could not but know and acknowledge it as the Hebrew word feems to imply. I fay this word [perceived] implies more than bare fee-'Tis that and somewhat else, viz. that he saw ing. him fo, as to be convinced that it was he indeed, the judgment was added to the sense. So that Mr. Webster's Objection, that the word was not he [faw] it was Samuel, is of no weight, he [perceived] implies that he faw it so as to be affured. If the saying of the Woman had been all, the affurance had been none at all, and Saul could not have perceived or understood any certainty of the thing from it.

But secondly, it appears yet further, that his perceiving did imply seeing; For he stooped with his Face to the ground, and bowed himself. Now, what did Saul make this respectful reverence to, if he saw nothing? Was it to Samuel in his sancy? Mr. Webster saith, Surely in rational consequence it could be nothing else, p. 171. This is something an unusual courtesse to bare Idea's and Imaginations. But Mr. Webster gives a reason: All that the Woman had done and said, being undeniably lyes and cheats, this also in just right and reason must be judged to be so also.

Which is affuming the thing to be proved.

## SECT. XIX.

That it was a real Apparition, not a confederate Knave, as Mr. Webster fansies, that Saul saw and did obey-sance to.

BUT did she not turn out her confederate Knave to act the part of Samuel? and was not this he to whom Saul bowed? This Mr. Webster offers as part of his answer. The Woman v. 14. describes Samuel in the form of an Old Man covered with a Mantle. Such a shape she must have put the confederate Knave into. It may be it was an Old Fellow, or she made him look Old, but let that pass. But where got she the Mantle? A Sacerdotal Habiliment it was, according to Josephus. Had the Woman a Wardrobe of all Habits for all purposes? or was it some short Cloak of her own, that she threw on him? We will suppose either that will serve Mr. Webster's turn best. But how did the Fellow himself, or the Old Quean for him change his Vifage into the likeness of Samuel, or how alter his Voice so, as to make Saul, who so well knew Samuel, to believe it was even he? These are hard Questions.

But if we should so far gratise Mr. Scot, Mr. Webster, and the rest, as not to press with such untoward Queries; yet one cannot chuse but ask how the confederate Knave came to foretel truly such contingent things, as that the Israelites should be vanquished by the Philistines, and Saul and his Sons slain on the morrow, as v. 19. How could the Cheat, or the Woman in another Room tell this? Why! saith Mr. Wagstaffe, he spake it at a venture, and he or the Witch gave a shrewd guess to the sequel, saith Mr. Scot. But what ground was there for conjecture? and since there was none, the Confederate might as well have chose to have told Saul, that he and his Sons should live and be Victorious; and this, if he were so cunning a Fellow, as these cunning Men

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make him, he would have done. For the Witches bufiness and his, was to get by their practice, and the likelier way to a good reward, had been to have prophelied grateful and pleasant things to the troubled King; and if the Prophesier knew nothing of the event. he might as well have chosen the good, as the evil side, Which as it had been for his Interest, it had been also for the better faving of the credit of his Predictions. For if he had foretold the Kings good Success and Victory, the Woman and He, the Confederate, in consequence had been sure of reputation and favour, and further rewards, if it happened so; but no evil could have befallen them from the contrary success Saul were killed, the falshood of the Prediction would be buried with him (for we read not that the two Servants were at this Communication, (which in all likelihood was private) and no other evil like to enfue.

So that if it were a Confederate Knave, as the Witch-Advocates have contrived that made the answers, he was not so cunning as Mr. Scot, Mr. Webster, and the rest pretend, but indeed a very sully Juggler. He speaks very severe and disobliging things, and such as were not like to redound to his advantage, and indeed such things they were, as do not at all look as if they proceeded from a Confederate Couzener. They have that Gravity, Majesty, Religion and Vertue in them that became the true Samuel, and are very unlike the words of

a vicious cheating Knave.

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To which may be added, that this Woman, though otherwise an ill one, seems to have been of a kind and benign nature, by the courteous entertainment she gave the afflicted Prince, and Josephus extols her much for her good nature. So that it is very probable, that she would by her self, or her Consederate, lay such an heavy load of Troub'e and Desperation upon the King, that was in such distress before. I think all these things put together, are abundantly sufficient to disprove, and shame the ungrounded fancy of the Witch-Advocates,

that all was done by a Confederate. And confequently it was a real Apparition that Saul saw, and did civil obeysance to.

## SECT. XX.

That it was not the Witch her self that acted all (as Scot and Webster for another shift would suppose) putting her self into a Trance, and deluding Saul by Ventriloquy.

BUT was it not the Witch her felf that acted all? Mr. Scot saith, that if the Exposition of the Confederate like us not; he an easily same himself to the Opinion. That this Pythone's being a Ventriloque, that is heaking as it were from the bottom of her Belly, did cast her self into a Trance, and so abused Saul, answering to Saul in Samuel's name in her counterfeit hollow Voice, p. 111. To the same purpose Mr. Webster also supposeth, That what she did or pretended to do, was only by Ventriloquy, or casting her self into a feigned Trance, lay groveling on the Earth with her face downwards, and so changing her Voice, did mutter and murmur, and peep, and chirp like a Bird coming forth of the shell, or that she spake in some hollow Cave or Vault through some Pipe, or in a Bottle, and so amused and deceived poor timorous and despairing Saul, p. 105, 166.

What stuff is this? and how shall one deal with such Men, as set their Wits upon the rack to invent evasions, and are ready to affert any Nonsense or Absurdity to pervert the sense of a plain and simple History? What I have already spoke against the Dream of a Confederate, viz. Saul's perceiving it was Samuel, his bowing himself upon it; his taking the Voice for the Prophet's, the suitableness and gravity of the words, and the contrivance of the Prediction, and the truth of it, are as strong against this Whim, as against the other idle fancy,

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For Veneriloguy, or speaking from the bottom of the Belly, 'tis a thing I think as strange and difficult to be conceived as any thing in Witchcraft, nor can it, I believe, be performed in any distinctness of articulate founds, without fuch affiltance of the Spirits, that fooke out of the Damoniacks. I would fain have any of the Witch-Advocates shew how it is naturally possible. that this that they suppose, will infer the thing they would avoid. It cannot certainly in any reason be thought, that the Woman could by a natural knack. speak such a Discourse as is related from Samuel, much less that she could from her Belly imitate his Voice, so as to deceive one that knew him as Saul did.

As for Mr. Webster's peeping, chirping, and muttering, they are nothing to the purpose, and his hollow Cave, Pipe and Vault, are as arbitrary Figments as the Closet, and fall under the same confutations that disprove the

rest of the Chimæra's.

## SECT. XXI.

That it was Samuel himself that appeared, not the Devil, nor a Confederate Knave.

BUT the Witch-Advocates have another Argument to prove an Imposture in this business. For, say they, the person denouncing the fate of Saul could not be the true Samuel, nor the Devil in his likeness; therefore it must be either the Woman or some cheating Confederate. Which conclusion follows not, for it is possible it might be a good Spirit personating Samuel. These the Scripture assures us, are often employed in Errands and Ministeries here below, and on those occasions they cloath themselves in humane shape and appearance. So that it is not absurd to think it might be thus here;

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but this I affirm not. Who actually it was hath been great matter of debate among Interpreters, and confiderable Authors have been on either fide. My cause doth not require that I should positively determine who the appearing person was, it might be one of them.

though I cannot tell(which.

I confess it seems to me most probable, that it was the true Samuel, for the Scripture calls the Apparition fo Five times, that is, as often as he is mentioned. And when the Woman faw Samuel, v. 12. And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, v. 14. and Samuel faid to Saul, v. 15. Then said Samuel, v. 16. Then Saul was fore afraid, because of the words of Samuel, v. 20. Which expressions are neither from Saul, nor the Woman, but from that Spirit that indited the Holy Scriptures. And if after all this, Samuel was a Knave, or the Witch, or the Devil, what affurance can we have in interpreting of Scripture? I know that it speaks sometimes agreeably to the deceived apprehensions of Men; but when it is fo, there is fomething in the Context or Nature of the thing that leads us to make this Judgment. And if we rashly suppose whenever we have a mind to it, that the Scripture speaks according to deceived Opinion; we may by this Rule make it fay any thing. The plain Letter, and most obvious sense is always to be followed, where there is no cogent reason to the contrary, and I shall shew by and by, that there is none to decline it here.

According to the obvious plain sense, the words are interpreted, Ecclesiastic 46.20. And after his death (speaking of Samuel) he Prophesied and shewed the King his end. And the circumstances of the Story which I have already considered, seem to me very plainly to determine the sense this way. Thus doth the surprise of the Woman, who cryed out with astonishment upon the sight of the Prophet, whom she was affrighted to see. Her knowing it was Saul by the Apparition, which she could not have done by the Devil's appearing in his likeness.

likeness. The Expression that Saul perceived that it was Samuel, he did not only fancy or think fo. The Divine and Majestick words he spake, so becoming the true Samuel, and so unlike the words of an Evil Spirit. And the Prediction of events fo contingent as the loss of the Battle, and the death of the King and his Sons.

## SECT. XXII.

The needlesness and impertinency of Mr. Webster's Confutation of Samuel's appearing with his Body out of the Grave.

NOW there are feveral evafions, whereby fome en-IN deavour to shift off this evidence. But if we will deal plainly and fincerely, we must, I think, acknowledge the force of the Arguments, which I have briefly and nakedly proposed.

But all this Mr. Webster pretends to confute thus. It was not Samuel's Body with his Soul joined, nor his Soul that appeared in his wonted shape and habit, p. 172, 173.

The first he proves by these reasons. First, His Body had lain too long in the Grave, so that it must have been disfigured. Secondly, It must have stunk. Thirdly, There was no Taylor in the Grave to make him a Fourthly, It must have been an Omnipotent Power to have done this. Fifthly, A Syllogism is brought to prove this contrary to the Scripture, which faith, That those that dye in the Lord rest from their labours.

Now the Four first Argument's he may take again, we have no concern with them. For 'tis fensless to think, that the gross Body came out of the Grave; and if he means the resting of the Terrestrial Body by the Fifth, he may take that back too. And indeed as applyed to

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the Body without the Soul, the disturbing of it is Nonfense. Its corruption in the Grave is continual motion, and more disturbance than the raising it entirely would be, if it were any at all. But properly it is none, no more than is the taking of a Stone out of a Quarry. Therefore if there be any Argument in this, it falls under the next Query.

The Sixth Argument is a Question, viz. Who joined the Soul and Body again? Not the Witch nor the Devil. The Opinion is erroneous, impious and blasphemous. And for me let him call it what he pleaseth. His strength is in hard words, which here like the stones thrown sometimes by Witchcraft light like

Wooll, and here Far also from the Mark.

## SECT. XXIII.

That it was the Soul of Samuel that appeared, without his Terrestrial Body, and that it is an indifferent Opinion, in which are divided as well Papists as Protestants.

But T there is a second opinion yet to be consuted, viz. That it was Samuel's in his wonted shape and habit, p. 173. He must mean his Soul without the Body, or else 'tis the same again; and if he means without any Body, I am none of those that mean with him. It is most fully and plainly proved by those excellent Men, Dr. C—and Dr. M—, that Souls departed are embodied in Aerial, or Ætherial Vehicles; and they have largely shewn that this was the Doctrine of the greatest Philosophers, and most Ancient and Learned Fathers. And agreeable it is to the Holy Scripture and highest Reason and Philosophy, as I may have another occasion to shew. Now Samuel appeared here to Saul in this his more pure Aerial, or Ætherial Body, which he could form into such an appearance and habit as he had in the Terrestrial.

Against the Opinion of Samuel's Soul appearing, Mr. Webster

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Webster urgeth cogent Arguments, as still he calleth his: they are all manifest, cogent, irrefragable, unanswerable. even then when they are scarce sense. He prefaceth to them, by an intimation, that the Doctrine is Popilli; maintained, he faith, it is by the Popish Party. His hard words use to be his strongest Arguments. is only to raife odium and prejudice to the opinion. For there are Papists and Protestants on both sides of this Question. As also Rabbins and Fathers have divided upon it. Some of the last fort, and those perhaps of the greatest and most considerable having been for it. as R. Eleazer, R. Saadias, The Writers of the Midralh. Josephus also, Origen, Augustine, Bast, Ambrose, &c. as some others have been against it. So that, I suppose, a Man may freely and without offence declare his Judgment, though it happen to be different from Mr. Wel for's.

## SECT. XXIV.

Three Arguments of Mr. Webster against the appearing of the Soul of Samuel, proposed and answered.

Wherefore to his Arguments, First he could not, faith he, come, whether God would or no. Right! Secondly, He would not run on an Errand without God's confent. No doubt. Thirdly, That God did not command him, he faith, is most certain. Here I must stop. How doth that appear to be so certain? Why! they never were imployed in Ministries here below, because never created for any such end or purpose, p. 173. They were never imployed in Ministries here below! What thinks he of the Souls of Moses and Elias, at the transfiguration on the Mount? were not they then employed in a Ministry here below, or were they only Phantasims? or their glorifyed Bodies without their Souls? and how then did they talk and converse with our Lord? But these he will say were sent on an extraordinary

extraordinary occasion. Be it so, they are sometimes then imployed in such, and so Mr. Webster must eat his words. And if bleffed Souls are, or have been employed at any time, how is he fo certain the real Samuel was not fent here?

we ha Thus briefly to his bold Assertion. But he pretends called a reason. They were never created for this purpose. If that were fo, what then? The Stars were never made to fight against Sisera, nor any one. Nor the Waters to drown the World. Nor the Ravens to feed Prophets or other Men. May not they therefore be used in those Services? Again, No sensitive Being was made primarily for another, but to enjoy it felf, and to partake of the goodness of its Maker. May it not therefore minifter to others? and doth not every Creature fo? All things ferve him. Thirdly, The Angels are Ministring Spirits, he faith, ordained to be fuch. Doth he think they were made for that purpose only to serve us? Fourthly, Reasonable humane Creatures are for one another. Non nobis solum, &c. Souls are most proper to ferve fuch, not here only, but in the next World. They are lody sexon, like unto Angels, and they are as proper at least for the service of Men. They have the fame nature and affections. They feel our infirmities, and confider us more than abstract Spirits do. Which is the reason given why our Saviour took not upon him the nature of Angels, but of Men. Fifthly, Souls departed have Life, and Senfe, and Motion, capacity of being employed, and no doubt inclination to it; and whither more properly may they be fent, than to those of their own nature, whom they affect, are allied to, and so lately came from? Sixthly, The Angels are not confined to their Coelestial Habitation, but are sent often to this nether World, as Mr. Webster and the rest confess, and why then should we think that the Souls of the Just are so limited and restrained?

And lastly, It is supposed both by Jews and Christians, that the Soul of the Messian appeared to the Patri-

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archs, and was the Angel of the Covenant; and we know he was pleased to appear to St. Stephen at his Martyrdom, though then in Glory. And in the various Apparitions of Angels recorded in the Scripture, we have reason to think that some were humane Souls, called Angels from their Office.

So that on the whole, we see we have no cause to rely on Mr. Webster's certainty, that Samuel's Soul came not

on a Divine Command.

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## SECT. XXV.

Other Arguments of Mr. Webster against the appearing of the Soul of Samuel, proposed and answered.

But Mr. Webster goes on: Fourthly, saith he, Mr. Glanvil hath only affirmed, not proved it. Which is not so, I alledge the same reasons I have mentioned here, in my Philosophical Considerations about Witchcraft, Sett. 16. And the frequent affirmations of the Sacred Text, were sufficient ground for the Assertion, though

no other reasons were added to them.

He argues, Fifthly, Miracles are wrought to confirm truth, but this would have confirmed Saul and the Witch in their wicked ways, p. 174. I answer, Miracles are not always wrought to confirm truth, but sometimes to declare it. And these sort are often for that purpose. Such was this, to pronounce the final Sentence and Doom on Saul, as to the concerns of this World. And the Prophet's appearing so contrary to the Womans expectation, and before she had performed her spells, struck her into dread and amazement, and so she could draw no incouragement thence, to countenance her trade of Witchcraft.

Sixthly, He faith it is not credible, but that Samuel would have reproved the Sorceress. But that was not his business, and it is like she being one of that vile and

Diabolical

Diabolical profession was forsaken of God and good Spirits, and given up to those evil ones that were her Agents and Familiars. Such derelictions we sometimes read of. And certainly if any course of sinning occasions and brings such a judgment (as some no doubt do) this of Witchcraft and Confederacy with evil Spirits, is one

that most justly may.

Seventhly, But God had refused to answer Saul by any living Prophet, and Eightly would not vouchsafe him his Spirit in the ordinary way, and therefore it is not probable he would do it by fending a Prophet from the dead. Which arguings can only discover our ignorance in the Reasons of the Divine Counsels and Actions. But yet it may be said, God had indeed withdrawn all comfortable and directive Communications from him, but this was of another fort, a further instance of the Divine Displeasure, and Declarative of the forsaken Kings Doom. Which was no favour, but indeed a judgment to which the Divine Justice was probably surther provoked by this his sin of dealing with the Sorceres.

But Ninthly, Abraham wou'd not send Lazarus upon the Rich Man's desire to his surviving Brethren, p. 175. Nor can any one think it follows that, because one came from the dead to an extraordinary person, and upon an occasion that was such; that therefore Prophets, or other Souls shall be sent from thence, ordinarily to warn those that have other sufficient means of conviction and amendment. The Tenth is to fill up tale. Where doth Mr. Glanvil, saith he, find it in Scripture, or Orthodoxal Divines, that ever any Bieffed Soul was sent on a Divine Errand to any here below? Which he objected, and I answered before.

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## SECT. XXVI.

That the Soul of Samuel might come of it felf, as well as be fent by Divine Command, either Opinion defensible.

T Have briefly recited, and I hope cleared Mr Webster's Objections, which he runs out into great length and numerous impertinencies. And indeed his Arguments are often such confident Nothings, that it is really a shame to go about to answer them. But I shall ne-

ver pass by any thing of his strength.

But though I have defended the Opinion, that Samuel's Soul was fent on a Divine Errand to Saul, against Mr. Webster's contrary pretences: yet is there another thing supposable, which is as probable, viz. That Samuel came without any direct command, being barely permitted, and that the earnest and importunate desire of Saul to have some Communication with him in his diffress, invited and inclined him to it. Thus it might be, and there is no cause to think, but that biessed Souls have fometimes such liberty allowed them; which of these it was, I shall not presume to determine, both are defensible, and either sufficient for my purpose.

## SECT. XXVII.

Several other Objections against the appearing of the Soul of Samuel answered.

PUT there are other Objections besides Mr Web-D ster's, against the Tenent, that it was the Soul of Samuel; I shall not conceal any one that hath any force in it.

First it is urged, That Witches and Magicians have no power over the Spirits of the Just, and therefore this Pythoness could not raise Samuel. Nor do we say she

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did. He appear'd (as 'tis probable from the Text) before she had made her Conjurations. Which might be one reason of her crying out. He came either sent from God, or of his own inclination. The Devil nor

Witch had nothing to do in it.

But Secondly, would God send Samuel at such a time, when he was seeking satisfaction from Enchantment? And why not as well that, as appoint the Prophet to meet the Messengers of Abaziah when he sent to Beelzebub, 2 Kings 1? That King sent to the Idol of Ekron to inquire his Fate, and God acquainted him with it by his Prophet Elijah. Thus also when Balak had required Balaam to curse the Israelites, God put a Prophecy into his Mouth, and made him bless them, Numb. 22. &c.

Thirdly, The Woman said, she saw Gods arising, a Company of evil Spirits (so some interpret) and what did Samuel among them? But I saw Gods is more probably rendred by others a God, a Divine Personage, the plural Number for the singular to express honour. And that it is so to be understood is signified plainly by the singular Relative that follows; Of what form is he, v. 14. Or if more be meant, why might they not be good Genii that accompanied Samuel, a great and Divine Personage, eminent no doubt in the other World as he was in this?

Fourthly, Some argue from the Question of the Apparition, v. 15. Why hast thou disquieted me? Samuel, say they, whether sent by God, or coming of his own accord, could not be disquieted by appearing. Nor was there any real disturbance in it, but the Spirit of the Prophet speaks our Language, who are apt to fancy the dead to rest in their Graves, and to be disturbed of their repose, when upon any occasion they appear among the living.

Fifthly, But he faith, that Saul and his Sons should be with him, viz. in Thalamo justorum, which some think not unlikely, believing that Saul was reprobate only in

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Type. But more probably the meaning is, that he should be in the State of the dead in another World, as

he the Prophet was.

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Sixthly and Lastly, The Spectre said, that to morrow he should be with him, which was not true, for several days intervened before the Battle. But the word to morrow need not to be taken in strictness, but in a Latitude of interpretation for a short time. He was to dye in or upon the Fight, and the Enemies were now ready for it, and so the event was to be within a very little while. The prediction of which, was a Prophecy of a thing very contingent, and shews that the Predictor was the real Samuel.

#### SECT. XXVIII.

An Answer to that Objection, That if it was Samuel's Soul that appeared, it makes nothing to Witchcraft.

BUT if it were the real Samuel, will they fay, this Story will then make nothing for the Opinion of Witchcraft. For Samuel was not raised by Enchantment, but came either of his own accord, or on a Divine Errand. To which Objection, I say,

First, Here is at least proof of an Apparition of a

Man after Death.

Secondly, Sanl's going to this Pythoness upon such an Inquiry, and she undertaking to bring the person up, whom he should name (at least the appearance of him) intimated v. 11. are good proof that this had been her practice, though at this time over-ruled, and that she acted by an Evil Spirit. For certainly when Saul intreats her to Divine to him by her Familiar Spirit, he did not mean that she should deceive, and delude him by a Confederate Knave. The senseless of which Figment I have already sufficiently disproved. That the Woman was used to such practices, will appear sully when I come to prove Witchcraft from \* express Texts.

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# Advertisement.

\* THE express Texts that he means, I suppose are such as these, Exod. 22. 18. 2 Chron. 33.6. Gal. 5. 20. Micah 5. 12. Acts 13. 6, 8. and Chap. 8, 9. and more especially Deut. 18. 10. Where almost all the Names of Witches are enumerated, namely, of all those that are inveigled by Covenant with Evil Spirits, either explicitly, or by submitting to their Ceremonies. See Dr. H... M... his Postscript.

## SECT. XXIX.

They that hold it was an Evil Spirit that appeared to Saul, that their opinion may be true for ought Mr. Webster brings against it.

A S to the Opinion of divers Divines, that the appearing Samuel was indeed an Evil Spirit in his likeness, though I judge it not so probable as the other of the real Samuel, yet the interpretation is not absurd nor impossible. And because I do not absolutely determine either way, I shall defend it against Mr. Webster's contrary Arguments, which whether it be so or not so,

prove nothing. He faith,

First, That this begs two false suppositions, p. 175. As First, That the Devils are simply incorporeal Spirits By which if he means Incorporeal in their Intrinsick Essential Constitution, such no doubt they are, as every Intellectual Being is. But if he mean by simply Incorporeal, disunited from all Matter and Body, so perhaps (and most likely) they are not. But neither the one, or the other of these, is supposed by the Opinion Mr. Webster impugns. The second false supposition is, That Devils can assume Bodies. That they can appear

in divers Shapes and Figures, like humane and other Bodies, we affirm, and it is plain from the Scripture, as to Angels, and I shall make the same good, in reference to other Spirits in due place. So that we may suppose it still, till Mr. Webster hath evinced the contrary, as he promiseth. How he performs I shall consider in due place.

His Second Argument is, That he is not of their Opinion, that the Devils move, and rove up and down in this Elementary World at pleasure. Which no one I know saith. They go to and fro, and compass the Earth, but still within the bounds of the Divine Permission, the Laws of the Angelical World, and those of their own Kingdom; which prevent the Troubles and

would enfue.

# Advertisement.

Disturbances in the World from them, which he saith

Thus far runs the Proof of the Existence of Apparitions and Witchcraft, from Holy Scripture, entire. The three or four Lines that follow in the M.S. and are left out, break off abruptly. But what is faid, sufficiently subverts the force of Mr. Webster's Arguments against their Opinion, that say it was the Devil that appeared to Saul. I will only here take notice, that this part which reaches hitherto, though it be not fully sinished, yet it abundantly affords Proof, for the Conclusion, namely, for the Existence of Spirits, Apparitions, and Witches, from Testimony of Holy Scripture, to as many as yield to the Authority thereof. But the following Collection is a Consirmation of the same things, as well to the Anti-Scripturists, as to them that believe Scripture.

And the leading Story of the Dæmon of Tedworth, I hope now will prove irrefragable, and unexceptionable, if the Reader retain in his mind, Mr. Glanvil's Preface to

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this second Part of his Saducismus Triumphatus, and M. Mompesson's Letters, the one to Mr. Glanvil, the other to Mr. Collins, which cannot but abundantly undeceive the World. So that it is needless to record how Mr. Glanvil wrote to Mr. William Claget of Bury, and professed, He had not the least ground to think he was imposed on in what he related, and that he had great cause from what he saw himself, to say, it was impossible there should be any Imposture in that business.

To the same purpose he wrote to Mr. Gilbert Clark in Northamptonshire, as also to my self, and undoubtedly to many more, as he has intimated in his Preface. Besides that, to the Parties above-named, he sent a Copy of that Letter of

Mr. Mompesson, which was wrote to himself.

So that that groundless Rumour being thus fully silenced, we may now seasonably relate, and that with considence, that assured and unexceptionably attested Story of the Dæmon of Tedworth. Which is as follows.

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Proof of Apparitions, Spirits, and Witches, from a choice Collection of modern Relations.

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## RELATION I.

Which is the enlarged Narrative of the Dæmon of Tedworth, or of the Disturbances at Mr. Mompesson's House, caused by Witchcraft, and the villary of the Drummer.

R. John Mompesson of Tedworth, in the County of Wilts, being about the middle of March, in the Year 1661. at a Neighbouring Town called Ludgarshal, and hearing a Drum beat there, he inquired of the Bailiff of the Town, at whose House he then was, what it meant. The Bailiff told him, that they had for some days been troubled with an idle Drummer, who demanded Money of the Constable by vertue of a pretended Pass, which he thought was counterfeit. Upon this Mr. Mompesson sent for the Fellow, and askt him by what Authority he went up and down the Country in that manner with his Drum. Drummer answered, he had good authority, and produced his Pass, with a Warrant under the Hands of Sir William Cawly, and Colonel Ayliff of Gretenham. Mompesson knowing these Gentlemens Hands, discovered that the Pass and Warrant were counterfeit, and thereupon commanded the Vagrant to put off his Drum, and charged the Constable to carry him before the next Jutice of the Peace, to be further examined and punishr.

The Fellow then confessed the Cheat, and begged earnessly to have his Drum. Mr. Mompesson told him, that if he understood from Colonel Ayliss, whose Drummer he said he was, that he had been an honest Man, he should have it again, but in the mean time he would secure it. So he lest the Drum with the Bailiss, and the Drummer in the Constable's hands, who it seems was prevailed on by the Fellows intreaties to let him go.

About the midst of April following, when Mr. Mom. peffon was preparing for a Journey to London, the Bailiff fent the Drum to his House. When he was returned from that Journey, his Wife told him, that they had been much affrighted in the Night by Thieves, and that the House had been like to have been broken up. And he had not been at home above three Nights, when the fame noise was heard that had disturbed his Family in his absence. It was a very great knocking at his Doors, and the outsides of his House. Hereupon he got up, and went about the House with a Brace of Pistols in his hands. He opened the Door where the great knocking was, and then he heard the noise at another Door. He opened that also, and went out round his House, but could discover nothing, only he still heard a strange noise and hollow found. When he was got back to Bed, the noise was a Thumping and Drumming on the top of his House, which continued a good space, and then by degrees went off into the Air.

After this, the noise of Thumping and Drumming was very frequent, usually five Nights together, and then it would intermit three. It was on the outsides of the House, which is most of it of Board. It constantly came as they were going to sleep, whether early or late. After a Months Disturbance without, it came into the Room where the Drum lay, four or five nights in seven, within half an hour after they were in Bed, continuing almost two. The sign of it just before it came, was, they still heard an hurling in the Air over the House, and at its going off, the beating of a Drum like that at

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the breaking up of a Guard. It continued in this Room for the space of two Months, which time Mr. Mompesson himself lay there to observe it. In the fore part of the night, it used to be very troublesome, but after two hours all would be quiet.

Mrs. Mompesson being brought to Bed, there was but little noise the night she was in Travail, nor any for three Weeks after, till she had recovered strength. But after this civil cellation, it returned in a ruder manner than before, and followed and vext the youngest Children, beating their Bedsteds with that violence, that all present expected when they would fal in pieces. laying Hands on them, one should feell no blows, but might perceive them to shake exceedingly. For an hour together it would beat, Round-heads and Cuckolds, the Tat-too, and several other points of War, as well as any Drummer. After this, they should hear a scratching under the Childrens Bed, as if by something that had Iron Tallons. It would lift the Children up in their Beds, follow them from one Room to another, and for a while haunted none particularly but them.

There was a Cock-loft in the House which had not been observed to be troubled, thither they removed the Children, putting them to Bed while it was fair day, where they were no sooner laid, but their troubler was

with them as before.

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On the Fifth of November 1661. it kept a mighty noise, and a servant observing two Boards in the Childrens room seeming to move, he bid it give him one of them. Upon which the Board came (nothing moving it that he saw) within a yard of him. The Man added, Nay let me have it in my Hand; upon which it was show'd quite home to him. He thrust it back, and it was driven to him again, and so up and down, to and fro, at least twenty times together, till Mr. Mompesson forbad his Servant such Familiarities. This was in the day-time, and seen by a whole Room full of people. That morning it left a sulphurous smell behind it, which

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was very offensive. At night the Minister, one Mr. Cragg, and divers of the Neighbours came to the House on a visit. The Minister went to Prayers with them, kneeling at the Childrens Bed-side, where it was then very troublesome and loud. During Prayer-time it withdrew into the Cock-lost, but returned as soon as Prayers were done, and then in sight of the Company, the Chairs walkt about the Room of themselves, the Childrens shooes were hurled over their Heads, and every loose thing moved about the Chamber. At the same time a Bedstaff was thrown at the Minister, which hit him on the Leg, but so favourably, that a Lock of Wooll could not have fallen more softly, and it was observed, that it stopt just where it lighted, without rolling or moving from the place.

Mr. Mompesson perceiving, that it so much persecuted the little Children, he lodged them out at a Neighbours House, taking his Eldest Daughter, who was about Ten years of age into his own Chamber, where it had not been a Month before. As soon as she was in Bed, the disturbance begun there again, continuing three Weeks Drumming, and making other noises, and it was observed, that it would exactly answer in Drumming any thing that was beaten of called for. After this, the House where the Children were Lodged out, happening to be full of strangers, they were taken home, and no disturbance having been known in the Parlour, they were lodged there, where also their Persecutor sound them, but then only pluckt them by the Hair and Night-

cloaths, without any other disturbance.

It was noted, that when the noise was loudest, and came with the most sudden and surprising violence, no Dog about the House would move, though the knocking was oft so boisterous and rude, that it hath been heard at a considerable distance in the Fields, and awakened the Neighbours in the Village, none of which live very near this House. The Servants sometimes were lift up with their Beds, and then let gently down again with-

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hut About the latter end of Dec. 1661. the Drummings were less frequent, and then they heard a noise like the gingling of Money, occasioned, as it was thought, by somewhat Mr. Mompesson's Mother had spoken the day before to a Neighbour, who talkt of Fayries leaving Money, viz. That she should like it well, if it would leave them some to make amends for their trouble. The night after the speaking of which, there was a great chinking of Money over all the House.

After this it desisted from the ruder noises, and employed it self in little Apish and less troublesome Tricks. On Christmass Eve a little before day, one of the little Boys arising out of his Bed, was hit on a fore place upon his Heel, with the Latch of the Door, the Pin that it was sastened with, was so small, that it was a difficult matter to pick it out. The night after Christmass day, it threw the old Gentlewomans Cloaths about the Room, and hid her Bible in the Ashes. In such filly tricks it

was frequent.

After this, it was very troublesome to a Servant of Mr. Mompesson's, who was a stout Fellow, and of sober Conversation. This Man lay within, during the greatest disturbance, and for several nights something would endeavour to pluck his Cloaths off the Bed, so that he was fain to tug hard to keep them on, and sometimes they would be pluckt from him by main force, and his shoes thrown at his head. And now and then he should find himself forcibly held, as it were bound Hand and Foot, but he found that whenever he could make use of his Sword, and struck with it, the Spirit quitted its hold.

A little after these contests, a Son of Sir Thomas Bennet, whose Workman the Drummer had sometimes been, came to the House, and told Mr. Mompesson some words that he had spoken, which it seems was not well taken. For as soon as they were in Bed, the Drum was

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beat

beat up very violently and loudly, the Gentleman arose and called his Man to him, who lay with Mr. Mompesson's Servant just now spoken of, whose name was John. As soon as Mr. Bennet's Man was gone, John heard a russing noise in his Chamber, and something came to his Bedside, as if it had been one in Silk. The Man presently reacheth after his Sword, which he found held from him, and 'twas with difficulty and much tugging that he got it into his power, which as soon as he had done, the Spectre left him, and it was always observed that it still avoided a Sword.

About the beginning of January 1662. they were wont to hear a Singing in the Chimney before it came down. And one night about this time, Lights were feen in the House. One of them came into Mr. Mompeffon's Chamber which feemed blue and glimmering, and caused great stiffness in the Eyes of those that saw it. After the Light fomething was heard coming up the Stairs, as if it had been one without Shooes. The Light was feen also four or five times in the Childrens Chamber; and the Maids confidently affirm, that the Doors were at least ten times opened and shut in their fight, and when they were opened they heard a noise as if half a dozen had entred together. After which some were heard to walk about the Room, and one rufled as if it had been in filk. The like Mr. Mompesson himself once heard.

During the time of the knocking, when many were present, a Gentleman of the Company said, Satan, if the Drummer set thee to work, give three knocks and no more, which it did very distinctly and stopt. Then the Gentleman knockt, to see if it would answer him as it was wont, but it did not. For surther trial, he bid it for confirmation, if it were the Drummer, to give five knocks and no more that night, which it did, and lest the House quiet all the night after. This was done in the presence of Sir Thomas Chamberlain of Oxford-shire, and divers others.

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On Saturday Morning, an hour before day, Jan. 10. a Drum was heard beat upon the outsides of Mr. Mompeffon's Chamber, from whence it went to the other end of the House, where some Gentlemen strangers lay, playing at their door and without, four or five feveral Tunes, and so went off into the air.

The next night, a Smith in the Village lying with 70hn the Man, they heard a noise in the room, as if one had been shoeing of an Horse, and somewhat came, as it were with a pair of Pincers, Inipping at the Smiths

nose most part of the night.

One morning Mr. Mompesson rising early to go a Journey, heard a great noise below, where the Children lay, and running down with a Pistol in his hand, he heard a Voice, crying a Witch, a Witch, as they had also heard it once before. Upon his entrance all was

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Having one Night played some little tricks at Mr. Mompesson's Beds feet, it went into another Bed, where one of his Daughters lay; There it passed from side to side, lifting her up as it passed under. At that time there were three kinds of noises in the Bed. They endeavoured to thrust at it with a Sword, but it still shifted and carefully avoided the thrust, still getting under the Child when they offered at it. The night after it came panting like a Dog out of breath. Upon which one took a Bedstaff to knock, which was caught out of her hand, and thrown away, and company coming up, the room was presently filled with a bloomy noisome fmell, and was very hot, though without fire, in a very sharp and severe Winter. It continued in the Bed panting and scratching an hour and half, and then went into the next Chamber, where it knockt a little, and feemed to rattle a Chain; thus it did for two or three nights together.

After this, the old Gentlewomans Bible was found in the Ashes, the Paper side being downwards. Mr. Mom-Pesson took it up, and observed, that it lay open at the

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third Chapter of St. Mark, where there is mention of the unclean Spirits falling down before our Saviour, and of his giving power to the Twelve to cast out Devils, and of the Scribes Opinion, that he cast them out through Beelzebub. The next night they strewed Ashes over the Chamber, to see what impressions it would leave. In the morning they found in one place the resemblance of a great Claw, in another of a Lesser, some Letters in another, which they could make nothing of,

besides many Circles and Scratches in the Ashes.

About this time I went to the House, on purpose to inquire the truth of those passages, of which there was

fo loud a report. It had ceased from its Drumming and ruder noises before I came thither, but most of the more remarkable circumstances before related, were confirmed to me there, by feveral of the Neighbours together, who had been present at them. At this time it nsed to haunt the Children, and that as soon as they were laid. They went to Bed that night I was there, about Eight of the Clock, when a Maid-fervant coming down from them, told us it was come. The neighbours that were there, and two Ministers who had seen and heard divers times, went away, but Mr. Mompesson and I, and a Gentleman that came with me went up. I heard a strange scratching as I went up the Stairs, and when we came into the Room, I perceived it was just behind the Bolster of the Childrens Bed, and seemed to be against the Tick. It was as loud a scratching, as one with long Nails could make upon a Bolster. There were two little modest Girls in the Bed, between Seven and Eleven years old as I guest. I saw their hands out of the Cloaths, and they could not contribute to the noise that was behind their heads. They had been used to it, and had still some body or other in the Chamber with them, and therefore seemed not to be much affrighted.

standing at the Beds-head, thrust my hand behind the Bo'ster, directing it to the place whence the noise seemed to come. Whereupon the noise ceased there, and was

eard in another part of the Bed. But when I had taten out my hand it returned, and was heard in the same blace as before. I had been told that it would imitate noises, and made trial by scratching several times upon the Sheet, as 5, and 7, and 10, which it followed and fill flopt at my number. I fearcht under and behind the Bed, turned up the Cloaths to the Bed-cords, graspt the Bolster, sounded the Wall behind, and made all the fearch that possibly I could to find if there were any trick, contrivance, or common cause of it; the like did my Friend, but we could discover nothing. So that I was then verily perswaded, and am so still, that the noise was made by some Damon or Spirit. After it had fcratcht about half an hour or more, it went into the midst of the Bed under the Children, and there seemed to pant like a Dog out of breath very loudly. I put my hand upon the place, and felt the Bed bearing up against it, as if something within had thrust it up. I graspt the Feathers to feel if any living thing were in it. I looked under and every where about, to see if there were any Dog or Cat, or any fuch Creature in the Room, and fo we all did, but found nothing. The motion it caused by this panting was so strong, that it shook the Room and Windows very fenfibly. It continued thus more than half an hour, while my Friend and I staid in the Room, and as long after, as we were told. During the panting, I chanced to see as it had been something (which I thought was a Rat or Mouse) moving in a Linnen Bag, that hung up against another Bed that was in the Room. I stept and caught it by the upper end with one Hand, with which I held it, and drew it through the other, but found nothing at all in it. There was no body near to shake the Bag, or if there had, no one could have made fuch a motion, which feemed to be from within, as if a Living Creature had moved in it. This passage I mention not in the former Editions, because it depended upon my single Testimony, and might be subject to more Evasions than the other I related; but

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ed vas but having told it to divers Learned and inquifiting nes e Men, who thought it not altogether inconsiderable uppo have now added it here. It will I know be faid by fome Ano that my Friend and I were under some Affright, and so to the cied noises and sights that were not. This is the Etern s (th Evasion. But if it be possible to know how a Man is a if h fected, when in fear, and when unconcerned, I certain nwo ly know for mine own part, that during the whole time ed. ered of my being in the Room, and in the House, I was under no more affrightment than I am, while I write this as I orf And if I know that I am now awake, and that I fee the Objects that are before me, I know that e w I heard and faw the particulars I have told. There is WO. I am sensible, no great matter for story in them, but effo there is so much as convinceth me, that there was some what extraordinary, and what we usually call preterms one tural in the business. There were other passages at my fess tural in the business. being at Tedworth, which I published not, because they tha are not fuch plain and unexceptionable Proofs. I shall now briefly mention them, valeant quantum valere poffunt. My Friend and I lay in the Chamber, where the first and chief disturbance had been. We slept well all night, but early before day in the Morning, I was awakened, (and I awakened my Bedfellow) by a great knocking just without our Chamber door. I askt who was there several times, but the knocking still continued without answer. At last I said, In the Name of God, who is it, and what would you have? To which a Voice anfwered, Nothing with you. We thinking it had been some Servant of the House, went to sleep again. But speaking of it to Mr. Mompesson when we came down, he affured us, that no one of the House lay that way, or had business thereabout, and that his Servants were not up till he called them, which was after it was day. Which they confirmed, and protested that the noise was not made by them.

Mr. Mompesson had told us before, that it would be gone in the middle of the night, and come again divers

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quisitingnes early in the Morning about Four a Clock, and this crable, uppose was about that time.

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Another passage was this, my Man coming up to me d fo tan the Morning, told me, that one of my Hor-Etems (that on which I rode) was all in a sweat, and looke n is a if he had been rid all night. My Friend and I went certain own and found him fo. I enquired how he had been ole time led, and was assured that he had been well fed, and orwas upered as he used to be, and my Servant was one that
ite this as wont to be very careful about my Horses. The
ite, and lorse I had had a good time, and never knew but that
we that ewas very sound. But after I had rid him a Mile or wo, very gently over a plain Down from Mr. Monesson's House, he fell lame, and having made a hard hift to bring me home, died in two or three days, no terna. one being able to imagine what he ailed. This I con-at my less might be accident, or some unusual distemper, but ill things being put together, it feems very probable that it was somewhat else. that it was somewhat else.

But I go on with Mr. Mompesson's own particulars. There came one Morning a light into the Childrens Chamber, and a Voice crying, a Witch, a Witch, for at

least an hundred times together.

Mr. Mompesson at another time (being in the day) feeing some Wood move that was in the Chimney of a Room, where he was, as of it felf, discharged a Pistol into it, after which they found several drops of Blood on

the Hearth, and in divers places of the Stairs.

For two or three nights after the discharge of the Pistol, there was a calm in the House, but then it came again, applying it self to a little Child newly taken from Nurse. Which it so persecuted, that it would not let the poor Infant rest for two nights together, nor suffer a Candle in the Room, but carry them away lighted up the Chimney, or throw them under the Bed. It so scared this Child by leaping upon it, that for some hours it could not be recovered out of the fright. that they were forced again to remove the Children out of of the House. The next night after which, something the about Mid-night came up the Stairs, and knockt at Me on the Mompesson's door, but he lying still, it went up anothe acl so pair of Stairs, to his Man's Chamber, to whom it appeared standing at his Beds soot. The exact shape and new of proportion he could not discover, but he saith he saw that are of great Body with two red and glaring Eyes, which for orth? some time were fixed steadily upon him, and at length he Discovered.

Another night strangers being present, it purr'din the Childrens Bed like a Cat, at which time also the f the Cloaths and Children were lift up from the Bed, and and fix Men could not keep them down: hereupon they re- work moved the Children, intending to have ript up the Bed. liver But they were no fooner laid in another, but the second abit Bed was more troubled than the first. It continued thus sime four hours, and so beat the Childrens Leggs against the Bed-posts, that they were forced to arise, and sit up all After this it would empty Chamber-pots into their Beds, and strew them with Ashes, though they were never so carefully watcht. It put a long piked Iron into Mr. Mompesson's Bed, and into his Mothers a naked Knife upright. It would fill Porrengers with Ashes, throw every thing about, and keep a noise all day.

About the beginning of April 1663. a Gentleman that lay in the House, had all his money turned black in his Pockets; and Mr Mompesson coming one Morning into his Stable, found the Horse he was wont to Ride, on the Ground, having one of his hinder Leggs in his Mouth, and so fastened there, that it was difficult for feveral Men to get it out with a Leaver. After this, there were fome other remarkable things, but my Account goes no further. Only Mr. Mompesson writ me word, that afterwards the House was several nights befet with seven or eight in the shape of Men, who, as foon as a Gun was discharged, would shuffle away to-

gether into an Arbour.

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The Drummer was tryed at the Assizes at Salisbury The Drummer was tryed at the American The Drummer was tryed at the on this occasion. He was committed first to Gloucester at M. on this occasion. He was committed first to Gloucester at M. on this occasion. He was committed first to Gloucester at M. on this occasion. anoth a los for flealing, and a Wiltshire Man coming to see him, a it appears to see him, a with the pears to see him r'din action for taking away my Drum. Upon Information for the fellow was tryed for a Witch at Sarum, and all the main circumstances I have related, were worn at the Assizes by the Minister of the Parish, and livers others of the most intelligent and substantial Indecond abitants, who had been Eye and Ear-witnesses of them, thus ime after time for divers years together.

The fellow was condemned to Transportation, and accordingly sent away; but I know not how ('tis said into by raising storms, and affrighting the Seamen) he made they a shift to come back again. And 'tis observable, that during all the time of his restraint and absence the House was quiet, but as soon as ever he came back at liberty, with the disturbance returned.

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He had been a Souldier under Cromwel, and used to talk much of Gallant Books he had of an odd Fellow, who was counted a Wizzard. Upon this occasion I shall here add a passage, which I had not from Mr. Mompesson,

but yet relates to the main purpose.

The Gentleman, who was with me at the House, Mr. Hill, being in company with one Compton of Sommer fethire, who practifed Physick, and pretends to strange matters, related to him this story of Mr. Mompesson's disturbance. The Physician told him, he was sure it was nothing but a Rendezvous of Witches, and that for an hundred pounds, he would undertake to rid the House of all disturbance. In pursuit of this discourse, he talkt of many high things, and having drawn my friend into another Room apart from the rest of the Company,

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Company, faid, he would make him fensible he con ton do something more than ordinary, and askt him who esid do something more than ordinary, and askt him who defired to fee. Mr. Hill had no great confidence in his talk, but yet being earnestly prest to name some on He faid, he defired to fee no one so much as his Wi who was then many miles distant from them at her home and Upon this Compton took up a Looking-glass that was the Room, and setting it down again, bid my Frien vas look in it; which he did, and there, as he most solem ly and feriously professeth, he saw the exact Image is his Wife in that habit which she then wore, and work need ing at her Needle in such a part of the Room (there a cou presented also) in which and about which time shere ally was, as he found upon enquiry when he came home The Gentleman himself averred this to me, and heis very fober, intelligent, and credible person. Compta had no knowledge of him before, and was an utter stranger to the person of his Wife. . The same Man w shall meet again in the story of the Witchcrafts of Eliza beth Style, whom he discovered to be a Witch, by soretel ling her coming into an House, and going out again with out speaking, as is set down in the third Relation. He was by all counted a very odd person.

Thus I have written the fumm of Mr. Mompeffon's difturbance, which I had partly from his own mouth related before divers, who had been witnesses of all, and confirmed his relation, and partly from his own Letters, from which the order and series of things is taken. The same particulars he writ also to Dr. Creed, then Doctor

of the Chair in Oxford.

Mr. Mompesson is a Gentleman, of whose truth in this account, I have not the least ground of suspicion, he being neither vain nor credulous, but a discreet, sagacious and manly person. Now the credit of matters of Fact depends much upon the Relators, who, if they cannot be deceived themselves nor supposed any ways interessed to impose upon others, ought to be credited. For upon these circumstances, all humane Faith is

the controlled, and matter of Fact is not capable of any proof esides, but that of immediate sensible evidence. Now the ce in this Gentleman cannot be thought ignorant, whether the one of the relates be true or no, the Scene of all being his win House, himself a witness, and that not of a circumstrance or two, but of an hundred, nor for once or twice t was only, but for the space of some years, during which he research and inquisitive Observer. So that it solemn cannot with any shew of reason be supposed that any of mages his Servants abused him, since in all that time he must work needs have detected the deceit. And what interest here tould any of his Family have had (if it had been possible to have managed without discovery) to continue so long to trouble some, and so injurious an Imposture? Nor can it with any whit of more probability be imagined, that his own melancholy deluded him, since (besides that he is no crazy nor imaginative person) that human we mour could not have been so lasting and pertinacious. whole Family, and those multitudes of Neighbours and others, who had so often been William fages? fuch Supposals are wild, and not like to tempt n. He any, but those whose Wills are their Reasons. So that upon the whole, the principal Relator Mr. Mompessen himself knew, whether what He reports was true or not, whether those things acted in his House were contrived Cheats, or extraordinary Realities. what Interest could he serve in carrying on, or conniving at a jugling Design and Imposture?

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> He suffered by it in his Name, in his Estate, in all his Affairs, and in the general Peace of his Family. The Unbelievers in the matter of Spirits and Witches took him for an Impostor. Many others judged the Permission of such an extraordinary Evil to be the Judgment of God upon him, for some notorious wickedness or impiety. Thus his Name was continually exposed to Censure, and his Estate suffered, by the Concourse of People from all parts to his House, by

the Diversion it gave him from his Affairs, by the Diff couragement of Servants, by reason of which he could hardly get any to live with him. To which if I add the continuall Hurry that his Family was in, the Affrights, Vexations and Tollings up and down of his Children, and the Watchings and Disturbance of his whole House (in all which, Himself must needs be the most concerned) I say, if these things are considered there will be little reason to think he could have any Interest to put a Cheat upon the World, in which He would most of all have injured and abused Himself. Or if he should have designed and managed so incredible, fo unprofitable a Delusion, 'tis strange that he should have troubled himfelf fo long in fuch a Business, only to deceive, and to be talkt of. And it is yet more fo. that none of those many inquisitive Persons that came thither purposely to criticize and examine the Truth of those Matters, could make any Discoveries of the Juggling, especially fince many came prejudiced against the Belief of such things in general, and others resolved before-hand against the Belief of this, and all were permitted the utmost Freedom of Search and Enquiry. And after Things were weighed and examined, some that were before greatly prejudiced went away fully convinced. To all which I add, That

There are divers Particulars in the Story, in which no Abuse or Deceit could have been practised, as the Motion of Boards and Chairs of themselves, the beating of a Drum in the midst of a Room, and in the Air, when nothing was to be seen: the great Heat in a Chamber that had no Fire in excessive cold weather, the Scratching and Panting, the violent Beating and Shaking of the Bedsteads, of which there was no perceivable Cause or Occasion: In these and such like Instances, it is not to be conceived how Tricks could have been put upon so Many, so Jealous, and so Inquisitive Persons as

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Tis true, that when the Gentlemen the King fent were there, the House was quiet, and nothing seen nor heard that night, which was confidently and with triumph urged by many, as a confutation of the story. But 'twas bad Logick to conclude in matters of Fatt from a fingle Negative, and fuch a one against numerous Affirmatives, and so affirm, that a thing was never done, because not at such a particular time, and that no body ever faw what this Man or that did not. By the fame way of reasoning, I may infer that there were never any Robberies done on Salisbury Plain, Homflow Heath. or the other noted places, because I have often Travelled all those ways, and yet was never Robbed; and the Spaniard inferred well that said, There was no Sun in England, because he had been six weeks here, and never faw it. This is the common argument of those that deny the Being of Apparitions, they have Travelled all hours of the night, and never faw any thing worse than themselves (which may well be) and thence they conclude, that all pretended Apparitions are Fancies or Impostures. But why do not fuch arguers conclude, that there was never a Cut-Purse in London, because they have lived there many years without being met with by any of those Practisers? Certainly he that denies Apparitions upon the confidence of this Negative against the valtheap of Positive assurances, is credulous in believing there was ever any Highway-man in the World, if he himself was never Robb'd. And the Trials of Assizes and Attestations of those that have (if he will be just) ought to move his Assent no more in this case, than in that of Witches and Apparitions, which have the very fame evidence.

But as to the quiet of Mr. Mompesson's House, when the Courtiers were there, it may be remembred as d considered, that the disturbance was not constant, but intermitted sometimes several days, sometimes weeks. So that the intermission at that time might be accidental, or perhaps the Damon was not willing to give so publick a V

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Testimony of those Transactions, which possibly might convince those, who he had rather should continue in the unbelief of his existence. But however it were, this circumstance will afford but a very slender inserence against the credit of the story, except among those who are willing to take any thing for an Argument against things which they have an interest not to acknow.

ledge.

I have thus related the fum of the story, and noted fome circumstances that affure the truth of it. I confess the passages recited are not so dreadful, tragical and amazing, as there are some in story of this kind, yet are they never the less probable or true, for their being not fo prodigious and aftonishing. And they are strange enough to prove themselves effects of some invisible extraordinary Agent, and so demonstrate that there are Spirits, who fometimes fensibly intermeddle in our affairs. And I think they do it with clearness of evidence. For these things were not done long ago, or at far distance, in an ignorant age, or among a barbarous people, they were not feen by two or three only of the Melancholick and superstitious, and reported by those that made them serve the advantage and interest of a They were not the passages of a Day or Night, nor the vanishing glances of an Apparition; but these Transactions were near and late, publick, frequent, and of divers years continuance, witnessed by multitudes of competent and unbyaffed Attestors, and acted in a fearching incredulous Age: Arguments enough one would think to convince any modest and capable reason.

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## Advertisement.

This Narrative of the Dæmon of Tedworth is published in an Epistolar Form in the former Impressions. But the enlargement thereof, that is to say, the said Narrative enlarged for this intended Edition, is not in that form, and therefore is thus published according to Mr. Glanvil's MS. in this bare simple form it was found. We proceed now to the second Relation.

#### RELAT. II.

Which is concerning Witchcraft practifed by Jane Brooks upon Richard Jones, Son of Henry Jones of Shepton Mallet.

ON Sunday 15. of Novemb. 1657. about Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, Richard Jones then a sprightly youth about twelve years old, Son of Henry Jones of Shepton Mallet, in the County of Somer fet, being in his Father's House alone, and perceiving one looking in at the Windows, went to the Door, where one Jane Brooks of the same Town (but then by name unknown to this Boy) came to him. She defired him to give her a piece of close Bread, and gave him an Apple. After which she also stroked him down on the right side, shook him by the hand, and so bid him good night. youth returned into the House, where he had been left well, when his Father and one Gibson went from him, but at their return, which was within an hour or thereabout, they found him ill, and complaining of his right side, in which the pain continued the most part of that night. And on Munday following in the Evening, the Boy rosted the Apple he had of Jane Brooks, and having eaten about half of it, was extreamly ill, and sometimes

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ther that a Woman of the Town on Sunday before, had given him that Apple, and that she stroked him on the side. He said he knew not her name, but should her person, if he saw her. Upon this Jones was advised to invite the Women of Shipton to come to his House, upon the occasion of his Sons illness, and the Child told him, that in case the Woman should come in when he was in his Fit, if he were not able to speak, he would give him an intimation by a Jogg, and desired that his Father would then lead him through the Room, for he said he would put his hand upon her, if she were there. After this he continuing very ill, many Women came daily to see him. And Jane Brooks the Sunday after, came in with two of her Sisters, and several other Wo-

men of the Neighbourhood were there.

Upon her coming in, the Boy was taken so ill, that for some time he could not see nor speak, but having recovered his fight, he gave his Father the Item, and he led him about the Room. The Boy drew towards Jam Brooks, who was helind her two Sifters among the other Women, and put his hand upon her, which his Father perceiving, immediately scratcheth her Face and drew Blood from her. The Youth then presently cryed out that he was well, and so he continued seven or eight days. But then meeting with Alice Coward, Sifter to Jane Brooks, who passing by said to him, [How do And after you my Honey] he presently fell ill again. that, the faid Coward and Brooks often appeared to him. The Boy would describe the Cloths and Habit they were in at the time exactly, as the Constable and others have found upon repairing to them, though Brook's House was at a good distance from Jones's. This they often tried, and always found the Boy right in his Descriptions.

On a certain Sunday about Noon, the Child being in a Room with his Father and one Gibson, and in his Fit, he on the sudden called out, that he saw Jane Brooks on

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the Wall, and pointed to the place, where immediately Gibson struck with a Knife. Upon which the Boy cryed out, [O Father, cooz Gibson hath cut Jane Brook's hand, and 'tis Bloody ] The Father and Gibson immediately repaired to the Constable, a discreet Person, and acquainting him with what had passed, desired him to go with them to Jane Brook's House, which he did. They found her sitting in her Room on a Stool, with one hand over the other. The Constable askt her how the did? She answered, not well. He askt again why the fat with one hand over the other? She replied, the was wont to do fo. He enquired if any thing were amis with her Hand? Her answer was, it was well enough. The Constable desired he might see the Hand that was under, which she being unwilling to shew him, he drew it out and found it bloody, according to what the Boy had faid. Being askt how it came fo, the faid 'twas fcratched with a great Pin.

On the Eighth of December, 1657. The Boy, Jane Brooks, and Alice Coward, appeared at Caffle-Cary before the Justices, Mr. Hunt and Mr. Cary. The Boy having begun to give his Testimony, upon the coming in of the two Women, and their looking on him, was instantly taken Speechles; and so remained till the Women were removed out of the Room, and then in a short time, upon Examination, he gave a full relation of the

mentioned particulars.

On the Eleventh of January following, the Boy was again examined by the same Justices at Shepton Mallet, and upon the fight of Jane Brooks, was again taken Speechless, but was not so afterwards when Alice Coward

came into the Room to him.

On the next appearance at Shepton, which was on the Seventeenth of February, there were present many Gentlemen, Ministers and others. The Boy fell into his Fit upon the fight of Jane Brooks, and lay in a Man's Arms like a dead Person; the Woman was then willed to lay her Hand on him, which she did, and he thereupon Itarted ¥ 3

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started and sprang out in a very strange and unusual manner. One of the Justices to prevent all possibilities of Legerdemain, caused Gibson and the rest to stand of from the Boy, and then that Justice himself held him: the Youth being blindfolded, the Justice called as if Brooks should touch him, but winked to others to do it. which two or three fuccessively did, but the Boy appeared not concerned. The Justice then called on the Father to take him, but had privately before defired one Mr. Geoffry Strode, to bring Jane Brooks to touch him at fuch a time as he should call for his Father, which was done, and the Boy immediately sprang out after a very odd and violent fashion. He was after touched by several Persons and moved not, but Jane Brooks being again caused to put her Hand upon him, he started and sprang out twice or thrice as before. All this while he remained in his Fit, and some time after; and being then laid on a Bed in the same Room, the People present could not for a long time bow either of his Arms or Legs.

Between the mentioned 15 of Nov. and the 11 of Jan. the two Women appeared often to the Boy, their Hands cold, their Eyes staring, and their Lips and Cheeks looking pale. In this manner on a Thursday about Noon, the Boy being newly laid into his Bed, Jane Brooks and Alice Coward appeared to him, and told him, that what they had begun they could not perform. But if he would fay no more of it, they would give him Money, and so put a Two-pence into his Pocket. After which they took him out of his Bed, laid him on the ground, and vanished, and the Boy was found, by those that came next into the Room, lying on the Floor, as if he had been dead. The Two-pence was feen by many, and when it was put into the Fire, and hot, the Boy would fall ill; but as foon as it was taken out and cold, he would be again as well as before. This was feen and observed by a Minister, a discreet Person, when the Boy was in one Room, and the Two-pence (without his knowledge) knowledge) put into the Fire in another, and this was divers times tried in the presence of several Persons.

Between the 8. of *Dec* and the 17. of *Feb*. in the Year mentioned, divers Persons, at sundry times, heard in the Boy a noise like the croaking of a Toad, and a Voice within him saying, *Jane Brooks*, *Alice Coward*, twelve times in near a quarter of an hour. At the same time some held a Candle before the Boys Face, and earnestly looked on him, but could not perceive the least motion of his Tongue, Teeth or Lips, while the Voice was heard.

On the 25. of Feb. between two and three in the Afternoon, the Boy being at the House of Richard Isles in Shepton Mallet, went out of the Room into the Garden, Isles his Wife followed him, and was within two Yards when she saw him rise up from the ground before her, and so mounted higher and higher, till he passed in the Air over the Garden-Wall, and was carried so above ground more than 30 Yards, falling at last at one Fordan's Door at Shepton, where he was found as dead for a time. But coming to himself, told Fordan, that Jane Brooks had taken him up by the Arm out of Isles his Garden, and carried him in the Air, as is related.

The Boy at several other times was gone on the sudden, and upon search after him found in another Room as dead, and at sometimes strangely hanging above the ground; his Hands being flat against a great Beam in the top of the Room, and all his Body two or three foot from ground. There he hath hung a quarter of an hour together, and being afterwards come to himself, he told those that found him, that Jane Brooks had carried him to that place and held him there. Nine People at a time saw the Boy so strangely hanging by the

Beam.

From the 15. of Nov. to the 10. of March following, he was by reason of his Fits much wasted in his body and unspirited, but after that time, being the day the two Women were sent to Gaol, he had no more of those Fits.

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Boy his dge) Jane Brooks was Condemned and Executed at Charles Assizes, March 26. 1658.

This is the sum of Mr. Hunts Narrative, which con.

cludes with both the Justices attestation, thus:

The aforesaid passages were some of them seen by us; and the rest, and some other remarkable ones, not her set down, were upon the Examination of several credible Witnesses taken upon Oath before us.

Subscribed,

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Rob. Hunt, John Cary.

This I think is good evidence of the being of Witches, if the Saddneee be not satisfied with it, I would fain know what kind of Proof he would expect. Here are the Testimonies of sense, the Oaths of several credible Attesters, the nice and deliberate scrutiny of quicksighted and judicious Examiners, and the judgment of an Assize upon the whole. And now the security of all our Lives and Fortunes depends upon no greater circumstances of evidence than these. If such proof may not be credited, no Fact can be proved, no wickedness can be punished, no right can be determined, Law is at an end, and blind Justice cannot tell how to decide any thing.

# Advertisement.

THE most sit Advertisement here is Mr. Glanvil's Transition to fresh Evidences, out of Mr. Hunt's Examinations, which is this. Thus far, saith he, the Evidence of Fast went in the former Edutions, but having resolved upon this Re-enforcement, I writ again to my honoured Friend Mr. Hunt, knowing that he had more materials for my purpose, and such as would afford proof sufficient

Chards to any modest doubter. In Answer he was pleased to send me his Book of Examinations of Witches, which he kept by h con. Join fairly written. It contains the discovery of such an bellish Knot of them, and that discovery so clear and plain, that perhaps there bath not yet any thing appeared to us t here with stronger Evidence to confirm the belief of Witches. credi. And had not his discoveries and endeavours met with great opposition and discouragements from some then in Authority, the whole Clan of those bellish Confederates in these parts had been justly exposed and punished. Out of that Book I have Collected some main instances, the clearness of which I think will be enough to overcome and silence any indifferent prejudice. But some are so settled and obdurate, that no proof in the World is sufficient to remove them. I begin with the Witchcrafts of Elizabeth Style.

#### RELAT. III.

Which containeth the Witchcrafts of Elizabeth Style of Bayford, Widow.

THis Elizabeth Style of Stoke Trifter, in the County of Somerfet, was accused by divers Persons of Credit upon Oath before Mr. Hunt, and particularly and largely confessed her guilt her self, which was found by the Jury at her Trial at Taunton. But she prevented Execution by dying in Gao!, a little before the expiring of the term her Confederate Damon had fet for her enjoyment of Diabolical pleasures in this life. I have shortned the Examinations, and cast them into such an order, as I think fittest for the rendring the matter clear and intelligible.

1. Exam. R Ich. Hill of Stoke Triffer, in the County of Somerfet, Yeoman, being Examined upon Oath Jan. 23. 1664. before Rob. Hunt, Efg; ene of his Majesty's Justices for that County, concerning the bewitching

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bewitching of his Daughter by Eliz. Style, declareth, That his Daughter Eliz. Hill, about the Age of 13. Years, hath been for about two Months last past takes with very strange Fits which have held an hour, two three, and more; and that in those Fits the Child had told her Father the Examinant and others, that one Eliz. Style of the same Parish appeared to her, and is the Person that Torments her. She also in her Fits usually tells what Cloths Eliz. Style hath on at that time, which the Informant and others have seen and found true.

He faith further, that about a Fortnight before Christ. mas last, he told Siyle that his Daughter spoke much of her in her Fits, and did believe that the was bewitched by her. Whereupon Francis White, and Walter, and Robert Thick being present, willed her to complain to the Justice against him for accusing of her. But she having used several put-offs, said she would do worse than fetch a Warrant. After which the Girl grew worse than before, and at the end of a Fit she tells the Examinant when the shall have another, which happens accordingly, and affirms, that Style tells her when the next Fit shall come. He informs further, that Munday Night after Christmas-Day, about Nine of the Clock, and four or five times fince about the same hour of the Night, his Daughter hath been more Tormented than formerly, and that though held in a Chair by four or five People, fometimes fix, by the Arms, Legs, and Shoulders, the would rife out of her Chair, and raise her body about three or four foot high. And that after, in her Fits, the would have holes made in her Hand-Wrists, Face, Neck, and other parts of her body, which the Informant and others that faw them, conceived to be with Thorns. For they faw Thorns in her Flesh, and some they hooked out. That upon the Childs pointing with her Finger from place to place, the Thorns and Holes immediately appeared to the Informant and others looking on. And as foon as the Child can speak after the Fit, she faith that at Widow Style did prick her with Thorns in those weral places, which was horrible Torment, and she emed to the Informant and others standing by, to be extream pain and torture. The Child hath been so remented and pricked with Thorns sour several Nights, which times the Informant and many other People ave seen the Flesh rise up in little bunches in which Holes did appear. The Pricking held about a quarter san hour at a time during each of the sour Fits, and he Informant hath seen the Child take out some of those Thorns.

The same Rich. Hill Examined Jan. 26. 1664. informs, that when he rode from the Justices House with a Warrant to bring Style before him, his Horse on a suddain sat down on his Breech, and he could not after ride him, but as soon as he attempted to get up, his Horse would sit down and paw with his Feet before. He faith surther, that since Style was Examined before the Justice and made her Confession to him, she hath acknowledged to the Informant that she had hurt his Daughter, and that one Anne Bishop, and Alice Duke, did join in bewitching of her.

Taken upon Oath before me,

Rob. Hunt.

2. Exam. Villiam Parsons Rector of Stoke Trister, in the County of Somerset, Examined the 26. of Jan. 1664. before Rob. Hunt, Esq.; concerning the bewitching of Rich. Hill's Daughter, faith, That on Monday Night after Christmas-Day then last past, he came into the Room when Eliz. Hill was in her Fit, many of his Parishioners being present and looking on. He there saw the Child held in a Chair by main force by the People, plunging far beyond the strength of nature, soaming and catching at her own Arms and Cloths with her Teeth. This Fit he conceives held about half

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nd ith an hour. After some time, she pointed with her Fings to the left side of her Head, next to her left Arm, and then to her left Hand, &c. and where she pointed he perceived a red spot to arise with a small black in the midst of it like a small Thorn. She pointed also to he Toes one after another, and exprest great sense of Torment. This latter Fit he guesses continued about quarter of an hour, during most or all of which time, her Stomach seemed to swell, and her Head where she seemed to be prickt did so very much. She sate soaming much of the time, and the next day after her Fit, she shewed the Examinant the places where the Thorns were stuck in, and he saw the Thorns in those places.

Taken upon Oath before me,

Rob. Hunt.

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Subscribed,

William Parsons Rector of Stoke Trifter.

3. Exam. Ticholas Lambert of Bayford, in the County of Somerset, Yeoman, Examined upon Oath before Rob. Hunt, Elq; Jan. 30. 1664. concerning the bewitching of Rich. Hill's Daughter by Elizabeth Style, testifieth, That Monday after Christmas-Day lalt, being with others in the House of Rich. Hill, he saw his Daughter Elizabeth taken very ill, and in Fits that were fo strong, that six Men could not hold her down in a Chair in which she was fat, but that she would raise the Chair up in spight of their utmost force. That in her Fits being not able to speak, she would wrest her body as one in great Torment, and point with her Finger to her Neck, Head, Hand-Wrists, Arms and Toes. And he, with the rest looking on the places to which she pointed, faw on the suddain little Red Spots arise with little black ones in the midst, as if Thorns were stuck in them, but the Child then only pointed, without touching her Flesh with her Finger.

Taken upon Oath before me,

Rob. Hunt.

4. Exam.

Exam. D Ichard Vining of Stoke Trifter, Butcher. Examined Jan. 26. 1664. before Rob. Junt, Esq; concerning the bewitching of his Wife by liz. Style, faith, That about two or three days before James's day three years fince or thereabout, his late Vife Agnes fell out with Eliz. Style, and within two or ree days after she was taken with a grievous Pricking her Thigh, which Pain continued for a long time, Il after some Physick taken from one Hallet, she was t some Ease for three or four weeks. bristmas after the mentioned S. James's day, Style came othe Examinant's house, and gave Agnes his Wife two pples, one of them a very fair red Apple, which tyle defired her to eat, which she did, and in a few ours was taken ill and worfe than ever she had been bebre. Upon this, the Examinant went to one M. Comton, who lived in the Parish of Ditch Eate (the same Person that shewed my Friend his Wife in a Glass, as have related in the Story of Mr. Mompesson) for Phyick for his Wife. Compton told him he could do her o good, for that she was hurt by a near Neighbour, tho would come into his house, and up into the Chamer where his Wife was, but would go out again withut speaking. After Vining came home, being in the. chamber with his Wife, Style came up to them, but vent out again without faying a word. Agnes the Wife continued in great Pain till Easter Eve following, nd then she dyed. Before her Death her Hip rotted, nd one of her Eyes swelled out, she declared to him hen and at several times before, that she believed liz. Style had bewitched her, and that she was the Cause of her Death.

Taken upon Oath before me,

Rob. Hunt.

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Hunt. Xam. Whilst the Justice was examining Style at Wincard poly ton, (which is not above a Mile and a half from Stoke er, Trister) upon the former Evidence against her, he observed that Rich. Vining looked very earnestly upon him. Whereupon he askt Vining if he had any thin over to say unto him. He answered that Style had bewitch end ed his Wise, and told the Manner how, as is in his Deposition related. The Woman Style upon this seemed his appaled and concerned, and the Justice saying to her You have been an old Sinner, &c. You deserve little Confunction. Hunt askt her, why then she would continue in Such ill Courses? she said the Devil tempted her: and her then began to make some Confession of his Acting with her. Upon this the Justice sent her to the Constable's house at Bayford, which is in the Parish of Stoke Trister, (the Constable was one Mr. Gapper) and the next Morning went thither himself, accompanied with two Persons of Quality, Mr. Bull, and Mr. Count, has now Justices of the Peace in this County.

Now before I proceed further in the Story I shall be take notice that here are Three credible Witnesses, so swearing to the same Particulars, in that the Child Elizabeth Hill was some times in strange Fits, in which her Strength was encreased beyond the Proportion of Nature, and the Force of divers Men; that then she pointed to the Parts of her Body, where they saw red Spots arising, and black Specks in the midst of them, that she complained she was prickt with Thorns, and two of them saw Thorns in the Places of which she complained. Some of which Thorns, one swears that He and Others saw hooked out, and that the Girl her self pulled out others; that in her Fits she declared, Style appears to her (as fane Brooks did to Richard Jones, in the former Relation) and tells her when she shall have another Fit, which happens accordingly; that she describes the Cloths the Woman hath on exactly as they find. But notwithstanding, all this shall be Melancholy

m Sub er, or any thing but Witchcraft; or the Fact shall be er, or any thing but Witchcraft; or the Fact shall be held enied, and the three Witnesses perjured, though this y upon considence against the Oaths of sober Men, tend to the y thing overthrow of all Testimony and History, and the ewitch endring all Laws useless. I shall therefore proceed to nother Proof, and such as will abundantly strengthen size to her. It is the Confession of Style her self.

I lest Mr. Hunt, and the other two Gentlemen at the se little constable's house, where Style was, upon Business of for it wither Examination, where she enlarged upon the inue in Confession she had before begun to make, and declared he whole Matter at that and two other times after in the articular as that follow.

rish of Exam. Exam. Elizabeth Styles her Confession of her r) and Witchcrasts, Jan 26. and 30. and Feb. paniel 1664. before Rob. Hunt Esq; She then confessed, Court, that the Devil about Ten years since appeared to her I shall Dog. That he promised her Money, and that she these hould live gallantly, and have the Pleasure of the Child World for twelve years, if she would with her Blood which ign his Paper, which was to give her Soul to him, and tion of observe his Laws, and that he might suck her Blood. This after Four Sollicitations, the Examinant promised them, her right hand, between the middle and upper Joynt where the Sign at the Examination remained and where the Sign at the Examination remained) and with a Drop or two of her Blood, she signed the Paper with an [O.] Upon this the Devil gave her Sixpence, and vanished with the Paper.

That since he hath appeared to her in the Shape of a Jones, Man, and did so on Wednesday seven-night past, but that some usually he appears in the Likeness of a Dog, and that and a Flatility a Miller in which last he usually

that fat, and a Fly like a Millar, in which last he usually as sucks in the Poll about four of the Clock in the Mordelaning, and did so Jan. 27, and that it usually is Pain to
choly let to be so suckt.

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That when she hath a desire to do harm, she call the Spirit by the name of Robin, to whom when he appeareth, she useth these words, O Sathan, give me m purpose. She then tells him what she would have done And that he should so appear to her, was part of he Contract with him.

That about a Month ago he, appearing, she desired him to torment one Elizabeth Hill, and to thrust Thomasinto her Flesh, which he promised to do, and the new

time he appeared, he told her he had done it.

That a little above a Month fince this Examinant Alice Dure, Anne Bishop and Mary Penny, met about Nine of the Clock in the Night, in the Common near Trifter Gate, where they met a Man in black Cloth with a little Band, to whom they did Courtesie and du observance, and the Examinant verily believes that this was the Devil. At that time Alice Duke brought a Pl Eture in Wax, which was for Elizabeth Hill. The Man in black took it in his Arms, anointed its Fore-head and faid, I baptize thee with this Oyl, and used some other words. He was Godfather, and the Examinant and Anne Bishop Godmothers. They called it Elizabeth or Bels. Then the Man in Black, this Examinant, Ann Bishop, and Alice Duke stuck Thorns into several places of the Neck, Hand-Wrifts, Fingers, and other parts of the faid Picture. After which they had Wine, Cakes and Rost Meat (all brought by the Man in black) which they did eat and drink. They danced and were merry, were bodily there, and in their Cloths.

She further faith, that the same persons met again, at or near the same place about a Month since, when Ann Bishop brought a Picture in Wax, which was Baptized John, in like manner as the other was, the Man in black was Godfather, and Alice Duke, and this Examinant Godmothers. As soon as it was Baptized, Anne Bishop stuck two Thorns into the Arms of the Picture, which was sor one Robert Newman's Child of Wincaunton. After they had caten, drank, danced, and made merry, they departed.

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That she with Anne Bishop, and Alice Duke, met at another time in the Night, in a ground near Marnhul, where also met several other persons. The Devil then also there in the former shape, Baptized a Picture by the name of Anne or Rachel Hatcher. The Picture one Durnford's Wise brought, and stuck Thorns in it. Then they also made merry with Wine and Cakes, and so departed.

She faith, before they are carried to their meetings, they anoint their Foreheads, and Hand-Wrists, with an Oyl the Spirit brings them (which smells raw) and then they are carried in a very short time, using these words as they pass, Thout, tout a tout, tout, throughout and about. And when they go off from their Meetings,

they fay, Rentum Tormentum.

That at their first meeting, the Man in black bids them welcome, and they all make low obeyfance to him, and he delivers some Wax Candles like little Torches, which they give back again at parting. When they anoint themselves, they use a long form of words, and when they stick in Thorns into the Picture of any they would torment, they say, A Pox on thee, I'le spite thee.

That at every meeting before the Spirit vanisheth away, he appoints the next meeting place and time, and at his departure there is a foul smell. At their meeting they have usually Wine or good Beer, Cakes, Meat or the like. They eat and drink really when they meet in their Bodies, dance also and have Musick. The Man in black sits at the higher end, and Anne Bishop usually next him. He useth some words before meat, and none after, his Voice is audible, but very low.

That they are carried sometimes in their Bodies and their Cloths, sometimes without, and as the Examinant thinks their Bodies are sometimes lest behind. When only their Spirits are present, yet they know one ano-

ther.

When they would bewitch Man, Woman or Child, they do it sometimes by a Picture made in Wax, which the

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the Devil formally Baptizeth. Sometimes they have an Apple, Dish, Spoon, or other thing from their evil Spirit, which they give the party to whom they would do harm. Upon which they have power to hurt the perfon that eats or receives it. Sometimes they have power to do mischief by a touch or curse, by these they can mischief Cattle, and by cursing without touching; but neither without the Devils leave.

That she hath been at several general meetings in the night at High Common, and a Common near Motcombe, at a place near Marnhull, and at other places where have met John Combes, John Vining, Richard Dickes, Thomas Boster or Bolster, Thomas Dunning, James Bush a lame Man, Rachel King, Richard Lannen, a Woman called Durnford, Alice Duke, Anne Bishop, Mary Penny and Christopher Ellen, all which did obeysance to the Man in black, who was at every one of their meetings. Usually they have at them some Picture Baptized.

The Man in black, fometimes plays on a Pipe or Cittern, and the Company dance. At last the Devil vanisheth, and all are carried to their several homes in a short space. At their parting they say [A Boy! merry meet, merry part.]

That the reason why she caused Elizabeth Hill to be the more tormented was, because her Father had said, she was a Witch. That she has seen Alice Duke's Familiar suck her, in the shape of a Cat, and Anne Bishop

fuck her in the shape of a Rat.

That she never heard the name of God or Jesus Christ

mentioned at any of their meetings.

That Anne Bishop, about five years and a half since, did bring a Picture in Wax to their meeting, which was Baptized by the Man in black, and called Peter. It was for Robert Newman's Child at Wincaunton.

That some two years ago, she gave two Apples to Agnes Vining, late Wife of Richard Vining, and that she had one of the Apples from the Devil, who then appeared

appeared to her and told, That Apple would do Vining's Vife's business.

> Taken in the presence of several grave and Orthodox Divines before me

> > Robert Hunt:

6. Exam. TA Illiam Parsons Rector of Stoke Trifter, Examined Feb. 7. 1664. before Rob. Hunt, Esq; concerning Elizabeth Style's Confession, faith, That he heard Style before the Justice of Peace, at the time of her Examination confess, as she hath done also to the Examinant several times fince, that she was in Covenant with the Devil, that the had figned it with her Blood, that she had been with the Devil at several meetings in the night, that at one time of those meetings, there was brought a Picture in blackish Wax, which the Devil in the shape of a Man in blackish Cloths, did Baptize by the name of Eliz. Hill, that she did stick in one Thorn into the Hand-Wrists of the Picture, that Alice Duke stuck Thorns into the same, and that Anne Bishop and Mary Penny were present at that meeting with the Devil.

Taken upon Oath before me

Robert Hunt.

Subscribed\_

William Parsons Rector of Stoke Trifter.

This Confession of Styles was free and unforced, without any torturing or watching, drawn from her by a gentle Examination, meeting with the Convictions of a guilty Conscience. She confesseth, that she defired the Devil to torment Eliz. Hill, by thrusting Thorns into her Flesh, which he promised, and said he had done

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it. That a Picture was Baptized for her the faid Eliza beth, and that she, the Familiar, and Alice Duke, fluck Thorns into several places of the Neck, Hand-Wrifts Fingers, and other parts thereof, which exactly agree with the strange effects related, concerning the torment the Child suffered; and this mischief she confesseth she did, because her Father said she was a Witch. She confesseth she gave two Apples to Vining's Wife, one of which she had from the Devil, who said it would do the business, which sutes also with the Testimony of Vining concerning his Wife.

She confesseth further, That the Devil useth to such her in the Poll, about four a Clock in the Morning, in the Form of a Fly like a Millar, concerning which, let us hear Testimony (the other particulars of her Confes-

fion we shall consider as occasion offers.)

7. Exam. TIcholas Lambert Examined again Jan. 26. 1664. before Rob. Hunt, Esq; concerning what happened after Style's Confession, testifyeth, That Eliz. Style having been Examined before the Juitice, made her Confession, and committed to the Offcer, the Justice required this Examinant, William Thick and William Read of Bayford to watch her, which they did; and this Informant fitting near Style by the Fire, and reading in the Practice of Piety, about Three of the Clock in the Morning, there came from her Head a glistering bright Fly, about an Inch in length, which pitched at first in the Chimney, and then vanished. In less than a quarter of an hour after, there appeared two Flies more of a less size, and another colour, which feemed to strike at the Examinant's hand, in which he held his Book, but missed it, the one going over, the other under at the same time. He looking stedfastly then on Style, perceived her Countenance to change, and to become very black and gastly, the Fire also at the Ime time changing its colour; whereupon the Examinant, Thick and Read conceiving that her Familiar was then

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then about her, looked to her Poll, and feeing her Hair hake very strangely, took it up, and then a Fly like a great Millar flew out from the place, and pitched on the Table-board, and then vanished away. Upon this the Examinant, and the other two persons looking again in Style's Poll, found it very red, and like raw Beef. The Examinant askt her what it was that went out of her Poll, she faid it was a Butterfly, and askt them why they had not caught it. Lambert said, they could not. I think so too, answered she. A little while after, the Informant and the others looking again into her Pollfound the place to be of its former colour. minant demanding again what the Fly was, she confessed it was her Familiar, and that she felt it tickle in her Poll. and that was the usual time when her Familiar came to her.

### Taken upon Oath before me

Robert Hunt.

8. Exam. Liz. Torwood of Bayford, Examined Feb. 7. 1664. before Robert Hunt, Esq; concerning the mark found about Eliz. Style after her Confession, Deposeth, That she together with Catherine White, Mary Day, Mary Bolster, and Bridget Prankard, did a little after Christmas last fearch Eliz. Style, and that in her Poll they found a little rifing which felt hard like a Kernel of Beef, whereupon they suspecting it to be an ill mark, thrust a Pin into it, and having drawn it out, thrust it in again the second time, leaving it sticking in the flesh for some time, that the other Women might also see it. Notwithstanding which, Style did neither at the first or second time make the least shew that she felt any thing. But after, when the Constable told her he would thrust in a Pin to the place, and made a shew as if he did, O Lord, faid she, do you prick me, whenas no one then touched her.

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The Examinant further faith, that Style hath fine confessed to her, that her Familiar did use to suck her in the place mentioned, in the shape of a great Millar, or Buttersly.

Prankard, do fay, that the above said Examination of

Eliz. Torwood is truth.

Taken upon Oath before me

Rob. Hunt.

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### RELAT. IV.

Which is the Examination and Confession of Alice Duke, alias Manning (another Witch of Style's Knot) of Wincaunton, in the County of Somerset, Widow, taken Jan. 27. and Feb. 2, 7, 10, 21. An. 1664. before Robert Hunt Esq.

THE Examinant faith, That when she lived with Anne Bishop of Wincaunton, about Eleven or Twelve years ago, Anne Bishop perswaded her to go with her into the Church-yard in the Night-time, and being come thither, to go backward round the Church, which they did three times. In their first round, they met a Man in black Cloths, who went round the second time with them, and then they met a thing in the shape of a great black Toad, which leapt up against the Examinant's Apron. In their third round they met somewhat in the shape of a Rat, which vanished away. After this the Examinant and Anne Bishop went home, but before Anne Bishop went off, the Man in black said somewhat to her softly, which the Informant could not hear.

A few days after, Ann Bishop speaking about their going round the Church, told the Examinant, that now she might have her Desire, and what she would

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wish for. And shortly after, the Devil appeared to her in the shape of a Man, promising that she should want nothing, and that if she cursed any thing with A Pox take it, the should have her Purpose, in case she would give her Soul to him, fuffer him to fuck her Blood, keep his Secrets, and be his Instrument to do fuch Mischief as he would set her about. upon his fecond appearing to her, she yielded to, and the Devil having prickt the fourth Finger of her right hand between the middle and upper Joynt (where the mark is yet to be feen) gave her a Pen, with which she made a Cross or Mark with her Blood on Paper or Parchment, that the Devil offered her for the Confirmation of the Agreement, which was done in the presence of Ann Bishop. And as soon as the Examinant had figned it, the Devil gave her Sixpence, and

went away with the Paper or Parchment.

Forther she confesseth, That she had been at several Meetings in Lie Common, and other Places in the Night, and that her Forehead being first anointed with a Feather dipt in Oyl, she hath been suddenly carried to the Place of their Meeting. That about five or fix Weeks fince (or more) she met in the said Common in the Night, where were present Ann Bishop, Mary Penny of Wincaunton, Elizabeth Style of Bayford. and a Man in black Cloaths with a little Band, whom she supposeth to have been the Devil. At the meeting there was a Picture in Wax, which the Man in black took in his Arms, and having anointed its Forehead with a little greenish Oyl, and using a few Words, baptized it by the Name of Elizabeth or Befs Hill, for the Daughter of Richard Hill. Then the Devil, this Examinant, Ann Bishop, and Elizabeth Style stuck Thorns in the Neck, Head, Hand-wrifts, Fingers and other parts of the Picture, faying, A Pox on thee, I'le spite thee. This done, all fate down, a white Cloath being spread on the Ground, and did drink Wine, and eat Cakes and Meat. After all was ended, the Man in Z 4

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black vanished, leaving an ugly Smell at parting. The rest were on a sudden conveyed to their Homes.

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On Monday night after Christmas day last, she met the fame Company again, near about the fame Place, and then Ann Bishop (who was there in a green Apron. re ca a French Wastcoat and a red Petticoat) brought in her Apron a Picture in blackish Wax, which the Devil baptized as before, by the Name of John Newman, for the fon of Rob. Newman of Wincaunton, and then the Devil first, after Ann Bishop and this Examinant thrust in Thorns into the Picture, Ann Bishop sticking in two Thorns into the Arms of it. The Picture Ann Bishop carried away with her. They were all there prefent in their Cloaths, and the Devil in the shape of a Man in black.

About five Years and a half fince, the same Persons were at the Baptizing of another Image, by the Name of Peter Newman, another Son of Robert Newman, both which are fince dead, and then Ann Bishop desired the Examinant to joyn with her in the Bewitching of Peter

and John Newman.

At another time she was carried to a Meeting in the Night, to a green Place near Marnhull as she was then told, where were present Ann Bishop, Eliz. Style, Mary Penny, and some unknown to her. Then also an lmage in Wax was baptized by the Devil, in the forerelated Manner, by the Name of Ann or Rachel Hatcher one of Marnhull, as she was then informed. After the Ceremony was ended they had Wine, Cakes, &c.

She likewise confesseth, that she was at another such Meeting, where twelve Persons were present, many of whom were unknown to her, but she took notice of one lame Man in blackish Hair among them, and of the De-

vil as before.

She faith that after their Meetings, they all make very low Obeysances to the Devil, who appears in black Cloaths and a little Band. He bids them welcome at their coming, and brings Wine or Beer, Cakes,

akes, Meat, or the like. He fits at the higher End. nd usually Ann Bishop sits next him. They eat, drink, ance, and have Musick. At their parting they use fay, Merry meet merry part, and that before they re carried to their Meetings, their Foreheads are aointed with greenish Oyl that they have from the Spi-They for the most part are it which finells raw. carried in the Air. As they pass, they say, Thout, out a tout, tout, throughout and about. Passing back they fay, Rentum Tormentum, and another word which g in The doth not remember.

She confesseth that her Familiar doth commonly suck her right Breast about seven at night, in the shape of a little Cat of a dunnish Colour, which is as smooth as a Want, and when she is suckt, she is in a kind of a

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That she hurt Thomas Garret's Cows, because he refused to write a Petition for her.

That she hurt Thomas Conway, by putting a Dish into his Hand, which Dish she had from the Devil, he gave it him to give his Daughter for good hanfel.

That fhe hurt Dorothy the Wife of George Vining, by giving an Iron flate to put into her seeling Box.

That being angry with Edith Wats, the Daughter of Edmond Watts for treading on her Foot, she cursed Edith with a Pox on you, and after touched her, which hath done the faid Edith much harm, for which she is forry.

That being provoked by Swanton's first Wife, she did before her Death curse her with a Pox on you, believes she did thereby hurt her, but denies she did be-

witch Mr. Swanton's Cattle.

She faith, That when the Devil doth any thing for her, she calls for him by the Name of Kobin, upon which he appears, and when in the shape of a Man, she can hear him speak, but his Voice is very low. promised her when she made her Contract with him, that

that she should want nothing, but ever since she has wanted all things.

Taken before me

Rob. Hunt. Rr's

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er, v She f 1. Exam. Homas Conway of Wincaunton, in the County of Somerfet, Examined Feb. 12. eive 1664. before Robert Hunt Esquire, concerning Alia aker Duke, informeth, That about twelve Months fince Alia ver Duke alias Manning, brought a little Pewter Dift to this informant, and told him it was good hanfel for his Daughter. The Examinant willed the faid Alice to carry it to her, she being within by the Fire, but she forced the Dish into his Hand and went away. Short. ly after he was taken extreamly ill in all his Limbs. Of which Illness the Physicians, whom he applied himself to, could give no Account. When she went from him, the was very angry and muttered much, because he would not figu a Petition on her behalf: she hath confesfed to him fince that she had the Dish from the Devil, and gave it him on purpose to hurt him. He hath been, and is fince in great Torment, and much weakened and wasted in his Body, which he imputes to the evil Practices of Alice Duke.

Taken upon Oath before me

Rob. Hunt.

2. Exam. A Ary the Wife of Tho. Conway, Examined March 6. 1664. before Rob. Hunt Esq; concerning Alice Duke, saith, That her Husband Tho. Conway about a year ago, delivered hera little Pewter Dish, telling her he had it from Alice Duke for good hanfel for his Daughter, who had lately lain in. In this Dish she warmed a little Deer-sewet and Rose-water, anointing her Daughter's Nipple with it, which

hich put her to extream Pain. Upon which suspecting arm from the Dish, she put it into the Fire, which hen presently vanished, and nothing of it could afterards be found. After, when the anointed her Daugh-Hunt er's Nipples with the same Deer-sewet and Rose-water, warmed in a Spoon, the complained not of any Pain. n the the further faith, That her Husband after he had reb. 12 reived the Dish from the Hands of Alice Duke, was Alia aken ill in all his Limbs, and held for a long time in Alia very strange Manner.

Taken upon Oath before me

Rob. Hunt.

3. Exam. T. Dward Watts of Wincaunton in the County of Somerset, Examined Mar. 6. 1664. before Rob Hunt Efg; concerning Alice Duke, faith, That he hath a Child called Edith, about ten years of Age, who for the space of half a year hath languished and pined away, and that she told him that treading one day on the Toe of Alice Duke, the in great anger cursed her with a Pox on thee, and that from that time the Child began to be ill and to pine away, which she hath done ever fince.

Taken upon Oath before me

Rob. Hunt.

## Advertisement.

P Esides the plain Agreement betwixt the Witnesses, and D the Witches own Confession, it may be worth the taking notice here, how well her Confession of having her Familiar suck her in the shape of a Cat, agrees with Eliz.

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Eliz. Style's Confession, that she had seen Alice Duke Familiar suck her in that shape. As also how the bewind ing of Edward Watt's Child by Alice Duke, her faying a Pox on her, agrees with the promise of the Devil to ha which is expresty, That if she cursed any thing with Pox take it, the should have her purpose. She also tellfying of the Baptizing the Image of Eliz. Hill, and of those forms of words, Thout, tout a tout, and Rentum Tormentum, at their going to their meetings and departing, plainly shews, that these are not transacted in dreams but in reality. The Devil also, as in other stories, leaving and smell behind him, seems to imply the reality of the business. those ascititious particles he held together in his visible veh. cle, being loosened at his vanishing, and so offending the me strils by their floating and diffusing themselves in the open Air.

#### RELAT. V.

Which is the Examination and Confession of Christian Green, aged about thirty three years, Wife of Robert Green of Brewham, in the County of Somerset, taken before Robert Hunt, Esq., March 2. 1664.

This Examinant faith, That about a year and a half fince (she being in great poverty) one Catherine Green of Brewham, told her, that if she would she might be in a better condition, and then perswaded her to make a Covenant with the Devil. Being afterwards together in one Mr. Hussey's Ground in Brewham Forest, about Noon, Catherine called for the Devil, who appeared in the shape of a Man in blackish Cloths, and said somewhat to Catherine which Christian could not hear. After which the Devil (as she conceived him) told the Examinant, that she should want neither Cloths, Victual, nor Money, if she would give her Body and Soul to him, keep his Secrets, and suffer him to suck

er once in twenty four hours, which at last, upon his and Catherine Green's perswasion, she yielded to; then he Man in black prickt the fourth Finger of her Right-and, between the middle and upper Joints, where the gn yet remains, and took two drops of her blood on is Finger, giving her four-pence-half-penny, with which she after bought Bread in Brewham. Then he pake again in private with Catherine and vanished, leaning a smell of Brimstone behind.

Since that time the Devil (she saith) hath and doth stually suck her left Breast about five of the Clock in the Morning in the likeness of an Hedg-hog, bending, and did so on Wednesday Morning last. She saith it is painful to her, and that she is usually in a trance when she stuckt.

She saith also, that Catharine Green, and Margaret Agar of Brewham, have told her, that they are in Covenant with the Devil, and confesseth, that she hath been at several meetings in the Night at Brewham Common, and in a Ground of Mr. Hussey's, that she hath there met with Catharine Green and Margaret Agar, and three or four times with Mary Warberton of Brewham; That in all those meetings the Devil hath been present in the shape of a Man in black Cloths. At their first coming he bids them welcome, but always speaks very low.

That at a Meeting about three Weeks or a Month fince, at or near the former place, Margaret Agar brought thither an Image in Wax for Elizabeth the Wife of Andrew Cornish of Brewham, and the Devil in the shape of a Man in black Cloths did Baptize it, and after stuck a Thorn into its Head; that Agar stuck one into its Stomach, and Catharine Green one into its side. She surther saith, that before this time, Agar said to her this Examinant, that she would hurt Eliz. Cornish, who since the Baptizing of the Picture hath been taken and continues very ill.

She faith, that three or four days before Fof. Talbot

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fuck her of Brewham died, Margaret Agar told her, that he would rid him out of the World, because he being 0. verseer of the Poor, he made her Children go to Ser. vice, and refused to give them such good Cloths as he defired. And fince the Death of Talbot, she confessed to the Examinant, that she had bewitcht him to Death He died about a year fince, was taken ill on Friday, and died about Wednesday after.

That her Mother-in-Law Catharine Green, about five or fix years ago was taken in a strange manner. One day one Eye and Cheek did fwell, another day another, and so she continued in great pain, till she died. Upon her death she several times said, in the hearing of the Examinant, that her Sifter-in-Law Catharine Green had bewitched her, and the Examinant believes, that she be-

witcht her to Death.

That a little before Michaelmas last, the said Catharine cursed the Horses of Rob. Walter of Brewham, saying, A Murrain on them Horses to Death. Upon which the Horses being three, all died.

Taken before me

Rob. Hunt.

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### RELAT. VI.

Containing further Testimonies of the villainous feats of that rampant Hagg Margaret Agar of Brewham, in the County of Somerset.

1. Exam. Lizabeth Talbot of Brewham, Examined March 7. 1664. before Robert Hunt, Efq; faith, That about three Weeks before her Father Joj. Talbet died, Margaret Agars fell out with him, because he being Overseer for the Poor, did require Agars Daughter to go to Service, and faid to him, that he was proud

this living, but swore by the Blood of the Lord, that e should not long enjoy it. Within three Weeks of which he was suddenly taken in his Body as if he had been abb'd with Daggers, and so continued sour or five ays in great pain, and then died.

Rob. Hunt.

mined March 15. 1664. before Rob. Hunt Esq. saith, That some sew days before Fos. Talbot died, the heard Margaret Agar rail very much at him, because the had caused her Daughter to go to Service, and said, that he should not keep his living, but be drawn out opon four Mens shoulders. That she should tread upon his Jaws, and see the grass over his head, which she wore by the Blood of the Lord.

Taken upon Oath before

Rob. Hunt.

Ary the Wife of William Smith of Brewham, Examined March 8, 1664. before
Rob. Hunt Esq.; saith, That about two years since Margaret Agar came to her and called her Whore, adding,
A Plague take you for an old Whore, I shall live to see
thee rot on the Earth before I die, and thy Cows shall
fall and die at my seet. A short time after which, she
had three Cows that died very strangely, and swo of
them at the door of Margaret Agar. And ever since
the Examinant hath consumed and pined away, her Body and her Bowels rotting, and she verily believes, that
her Cattle and her self were bewitcht by Agar.

Taken upon Oath before

Rob. Hunt.

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4. Exam. Atharine Green alias Cornish of Brenha Widow, Examined May 16. 1665. b fore Rob. Hunt Efq; faith, That on Friday in the Eve ing, in the beginning of March last, Margaret An came to her, and was earnest she should go with her a Ground called Huffeys-knap, which she did, and bein come thither they faw a little Man in black Cloths, with a little Band. As foon as they came to him, Margan Agar took out of her Lap a little Picture in black Wax, which she delivered to the Man in black, wh fluck a Thorn into the Crown of the Picture, and the delivered it back to Agar. Upon which she stuck Thorn towards the heart of the Picture, curling, and faying, A Plague on you; which she told the Examinan was done to hurt Eliz. Cornish, who as she hath been told, hath been very ill ever fince that time.

That a little above a year fince Jos. Talbot, lated Brewham, being Overseer for the Poor, did cause two of Agar's Children to go to Service. Upon which he was very angry, and said in the Examinant's hearing, see days before he fell sick and died, that she had trou upon the Jaws of three of her Enemies, and that she should shortly see Talbot rot and tread on his Jaws. And when this Examinant desired her not to hurt Talbot, she swore by the Blood of the Lord, she would confound him if she could. The day before he died, she said to the Examinant, Gods wounds, I'll go and see him, for I shall never see him more; and the next day Talbot

died.

That she heard Margaret Agar curse Mary Smith, and say, she should live to see her and her Cattle fall and sot before her face.

Taken upon Oath before

Rob. Hunt.

5. Exam

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Exam. Ary Green of Brewham, single Woman, Examined June 3. 1665. before Rob. Hunt, Esq; saith. That about a Month before Jos. Talbot late of Brewham died, Margaret Agar sell out with him about the putting out of her Child to Service. After that she saw a Picture in Clay or Wax in the hands of Agar, which she said was for Talbot, the Picture she saw her deliver in Redmore, to the Fiend in the shape of a Man in black, about an hour in the Night, who stuck a Thorn in or near the Heart of it; Agar stuck another in the Breast, and Catharine Green, Alice Green, Mary Warberton, Henry Walter, and Christian Green, all of Brewham, were then and there present, and did all stick Thorns into the Picture.

At that time Catherine Green spake to Agar not to hurt Talbot, because she received somewhat from him often times, but Agar replied, by the Lord's Blood she

would confound him, or words to that Purpose.

That a little before Talbot was taken fick, Agar being in the House where the Examinant lived, swore that she should ere long tread upon his Jaws. And that if Talbot made her Daughter to go to Service for a year, yet if she came home in a quarter it would be time enough to see him carried out upon four Mens shoulders, and to tread upon his Jaws.

That on the day Talbot dyed, she heard Agar swear that she had now plagued Talbot; and that being in Company with her some time before, and seeing a dead Horse of Talbot's drawn along by another of his Horses, she swore that that Horse should be also drawn out to morrow, and the next day she saw the well Horse also

drawn out dead.

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That above a Month before Margaret Agar was fent to Gaol, she saw her, Henry Walter, Catherine Green, Joan Syms, Christian Green, Mary Warberton, and others, meet at a place called Hussey's-knap in the Forest in the Night time, where met them the Fiend in the A 2 shape

shape of a little Man in black Cloths, with a little Band, to him all made obeysances, and at that time a Picture in Wax or Clay was delivered by Agar to the Man in black, who stuck a Thorn into the Crown of it, Mar. garct Agar one towards the Breast, Catharine Green in the side; after which Agar threw down the Picture, and said, there is Cornish's Picture with a Murrain to it, or Plague on it. And that at both the meetings there was a noisom smell of Brimstone.

That about two years fince in the Night there met in the same place Agar, Henry Walter, Catharine Green, Joan Syms, Alice Green, and Mary Warberton. Then also Margaret Agar delivered to the little Man in black a Picture in Wax, into which he and Agar stuck Thorns, and Henry Walter thrust his Thumb into the side of it. Then they threw it down and said, there is Dick Green's Picture with a Pox in't. A short time after which Rich

ard Green was taken ill and died.

Further, she saith, That on Thursday Night before Whitsunday last, about the same place met Catharine Green, Alice Green, Joan Syms, Mary Warberton, Dinah, and Dorothy Warberton, and Henry Walter, and being met they called out Robin. Upon which instantly appeared a little Man in black Cloths, to whom all made obeysance, and the little Man put his hand to his Hat, saying, How do ye? speaking low but big. Then all made low obeysances to him again. That she hath seen Margaret Clark twice at the meetings, but since Margaret Agar was sent to Prison she never saw her there.

Taken before me

Rob. Hunt.

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### Advertisement.

B Efore we pass to other Relations, it will not be amiss further to remark upon these taken out of the Examinations of Mr. Hunt: From the poisoned Apples that Jane Brooks gave to Rich. Jones, and Eliz. Style to Agnes Vining, and the poisoned Pewter-Dish that Alice Duke put into the hands of Tho. Conway, (which Dish and Apples they had from the Devil) we may observe in what a peculiar sense Witches and Wizzards are called oaguaxol, Venefici and Veneficæ, Poysoners. Not that they mischieve People ordinarily by natural Poisons, as Arsenick and the like, but rather by some hellish malignancy infused into things by the art and malice of the Devil, or by the feams of their own Body which the Devil sucks. For the hand of Jane Brooks stroaking down Rich. Jones his side impressed

a pain thereon.

We may observe also what an eximious Example of Moses his Mecassephah (the word which he uses in that Law, Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live) Margaret Agar is, and how unfitly some Interpreters render Mecassephim, Malefici, from the great mischief they do and delight in. And what a great credit this Agar is to J. Webster and the rest of the Hago-advocates, which would make them to be meer couzening Queans, or melancholick Fopps, that had nothing to do with the Devil. As if the Man in black, and a little Band, were but such another as J. Webster, or any other Hagg-advocate, that in waggery afted the part of the Devil in Hussey's Knap, or any such like place of a Forest, and so after all, quickly and suddenly recoiling behind a bush, and letting fly into the wind, the deluded Haggs took it for the vanishing of the very Fiend, and his perfuming the Air with the smell of Brimstone. One that can resolve all the feats of the Hartummim of Egypt into tricks of Legerdemain, cannot be easily delude the Company with such a feat as this, the old Wives being thick of hearing,

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And lastly from the Devils covenanting with the Witches for their Souls, it may be observed, that the old Hages dealing bona fide, and thinking they have Souls surviving their Bodies, are better Philosophers than the huffy Wits of our Age that deny distinction of Soul and Body. But if they have not (as these Huffers would have it) and the Hages think so themselves, it is a pretty Paradox that these old Fopps (hould be able to out-wit the very Devil; who does not in bartering for their Bodies and Souls buy a Pig-in-a-poke, as the Proverb is, but a poke without a Pig. But I rather believe, that these buffing Wits, as high as they are, may learn one true point of Philosophy from these Haggs and their Familiars; these evil Spirits certainly making their Bargains wifely enough in covenanting for the Witches Soul. Which clause, if it were not exprest, the Soul were free from the Familiars jurisdiction after death. Wherefore it is no contemptible argument these evil Spirits covenanting for the Soul of the Witch, that they know the Soul survives the Body, and therefore make their Bargain sure for the possession of it as their Peculium after death. Otherwise, if the Soul were mortal they would tell the Witches for the more easily to precipitate them into all wickedness, and make them more eager by their ministry to enjoy this present life. But this Doctrine is inconsistent with the form of his Covenant, whereby they are assured to bim after death.

#### RELAT. VII.

Touching Florence Newton an Irish Witch of Youghal, taken out of her Tryal at the Assizes held for the County of Corke, Septemb. 11. Ann. 1661.

This Florence Newton was committed to Youghall Prifon, by the Mayor of the Town, March 24. 1661. for bewitching Mary Longdon, who gave Evidence against

against her at Cork Assizes, as follows. Mary Longdon being fworn and examined what she could fay against the faid Florence Newton for any practice of Witchcraft upon her felf, and being bidden to look on the Prisoner. her Countenance changed pale, and she was very fearful to look towards her, but at last she did. And being askt whether the knew her, the faid the did, and witht the never had. Being askt how long the had known her. the faid for three or four years. And that at Christmas last the said Florence came to the Deponent, at the House of John Pyne in Youghall, where the Deponent was a Servant; and askt the Deponent to give her a piece of Beef out of the Powdering-Tub. And the Deponent answering her, that she could not give away her Master's Beef, she said Florence seemed to be very angry, and faid, thou hadft as good have given it me, and so went away grumbling.

That about a Week after, the Deponent being going to the Water with a Pail of Cloth on her head, she met her the faid Florence Newton, who came full in her Face, and threw the Pail off her Head, and violently kist her, and faid, Mary, I pray thee, let thee and I be Friends, for I bear thee no ill will, and I pray thee do thou bear me none. And that she the Deponent went afterwards home, and that within a few days after, she saw a Woman with a Vail over her Face, stand by her Bed-side, and one standing by her like a little old Man in filk Cloths, and that this Man which she took to be a Spirit, drew the Vail from off the Womans Face, and then she knew it to be Goody Newton, and that the Spirit spake to the Deponent, and would have had her promise him to follow his advice, and she should have all things after her own heart, to which she says she answered, That the would have nothing to fay to him, for her trust was

in the Lord.

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That within a Month after the said Florence had kist her, she this Deponent sell very ill of Fits or Trances, which would take her on the sudden, in that violence,

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that three or four Men'could not hold her. And in her Fits she would often be taken with Vomitings, and would Vomit up Needles, Pins, Horse-nails, Stubbs, Wooll, and Straw, and that very often. And being asked whether she perceived at these times what she Vomited? The faid the did. For then the was not in fo great distraction as in other parts of her Fits she was. And that a little before the first beginning of her Fits, feveral (and very many) fmall stones would fall upon her as she went up and down, and would follow her from place to place, and from one room to another, and would hit her on the head, shoulders, and arms, and fall to the ground and vanish away. And that she and feveral others would fee them both fall upon her, and on the ground, but could never take them, fave only some few, which she and her Master caught in their hands. Amongst which one that had a hole in it she tied (as fhe was advised) with a Leather thong to her Purse, but it was vanisht immediately, though the Leather continued tied on a fast Knot.

That in her Fits she often faw this Florence Newton, and cryed out against her for tormenting of her, for she fays, that she would several times stick Pins into her Arms, and some of them so fast, that a Man must pluck three or four times to get out the Pin, and they were fluck betwixt the skin and the flesh. That fometimes The should be removed out of her Bed into another room, fometimes she should be carried to the top of the Houle laid on a Board betwixt two Sollar Beams, fometimes put into a Chest, sometimes under a parcel of Wooll, sometimes betwixt two Feather-beds on which she used to lie, and fometimes betwixt the Bed and the Mat in her Masters Chamber in the day time. And being asked how the knew the was thus carried about and disposed of, seeing in her Fits she was in a violent distraction? she anfwered, she never knew where she was, till they of the Family, and the Neighbours with them, would be taking her out of the places whither she was so carried and and removed. And being asked the reason wherefore she cryed out so much against the said Florence Newton in her Fits? she answered, because she saw her and selt

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And being asked how she could think it was Florence Newton that did her this prejudice? she said, first because she threatned her, then because after she had kist her she fell into these Fits, and that she both saw and felt her tormenting. And lastly, that when the People of the Family, by advice of the Neighbours, and confent of the Mayor, had fent for Florence Newton to come to the Deponent, she was always worse when she was brought unto her, and her Fits more violent than at another time. And that after the faid Florence was committed at Youghall, the Deponent was not troubled, but was very well till a little while after the faid Florence was removed to Corke, and then the Deponent was as ill as ever before. And the Mayor of Youghall, one Mr. Mayre, then fent to know whether the faid Florence were bolted (as the Deponent was told) and finding fhe was not, order was given to put her Bolts on her; which being done, the Deponent faith fhe was well again, and so hath continued ever fince. And being asked whether the had fuch like Fits before the faid Florence gave her the kifs, she faith she never had any, but believes that with that kiss she bewitcht her, and the rather because she hath heard from Nicholas Pyne, and others, that the said Florence had confessed as much.

This Mary Longdon having closed up her Evidence, Florence Newton peep'd at her as it were betwixt the heads of the By-standers that interposed betwixt her and the said Mary, and lifting up both her hands together, as they were manacled, cast them in an angry violent kind of motion (as was seen and observed by W. Aston) towards the said Mary, as if she intended to strike at her if she could have reacht her, and said, Now she is down. Upon which the Maid sell suddenly down to the ground like a stone, and sell into a most violent sit, that all the

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People that could come to lay hands on her could scare ords hold her, she biting her own Arms, and shreeking out fon fi in a most hideous manner, to the amazement of all the her And continuing so for about a quarter of Maid an hour (the faid Florence Newton fitting by her felf all ords that while pinching her own Hands and Arms, as was fworn by some that observed her) the Maid was ordered Gene to be carried out of Court and taken into a House he ha Whence feveral Persons after that, brought word, that could the Maid was in a Vomiting Fit, and they brought in Several crooked Pins, and Straws, and Wooll, in white foam like spittle in great proportions. Whereupon the Court having taken notice that the Maid had faid he had been very well when the faid Florence was in Bolts. and ill again when out of them, till they were again put on her, demanded of the Gaoler if she were in Boltson no, to which he faid she was not, but onely manacled, Upon which order was given to put on her Bolts, and upon putting them on, she cryed out, she was killed, the was undone, the was spoiled, why do you torment me thus? and so continued complaining grievoully for half a quarter of an hour. And then came in a Messen. ger from the Maid, and informed the Court the Maid was well. At which Florence immediately and cholerickly uttered these words. She is not well yet. And being demanded how she knew she was not well yet? she denied the faid fo, though many in Court heard her lay the words, and she said, if she did, she knew not what the faid, being old and disquieted, and distracted with her fufferings. But the Maid being reasonably well come to her felf, was, before the Court knew any thing of it, fent out of Town to Youghall, and so was no further Examined by the Court.

The Fit of the Maid being urged by the Court with all the Circumstances of it upon Florence, to have been a continuance of her Devilish practice, she denied it, and likewise the motion of her hands, or the saying, Now the is down, though the Court faw the first, and the words

ords were fworn by one Roger Moor. And Thomas Harng out fon swore, that he had observed the said Florence peep all the her, and use that motion with her hands, and saw the ter of Maid fall immediately upon that motion, and heard the elf all words, Now she is down, uttered.

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Nicholas Stont was next produced by Mr. Attorneyas was dered General, who being sworn and Examined, said, That House he had oft tried her, having heard say that Witches that could not fay the Lord's Prayer, whether she could say tht in that Prayer or no, and found the could not. Whereupon white the faid the could fay it, and had oft faid it. n the Court being desired by her to hear her say it, gave her leave. And four times together after these words [give us this day our daily Bread ] she continually said, as we for give them, leaving always out the words [and forgive us our trespasses] upon which the Court appointed one near her to teach her these words she so lest out. But fhe either could not, or would not fay them, using only these or the like words when these were repeated, Ay, Ay, trespasses, that's the words. And being oft pressed to utter the words as they were repeated to her, she did not. And being asked the reason, she said she was old and had a bad memory; and being asked how her memory ferved her so well for other parts of the Prayer, and only fail her for that, she said she knew not, neither could she help it.

John Pyne being likewise sworn and Examined, said, that about January last the said Mary Longdon being his Servant, was much troubled with little Stones that were thrown at her wherever she went, and that he hath seen them come as if they were thrown at her, others as if they dropped on her, and that he hath feen very great quantities of them, and that they would, after they had hit her, fall on the ground, and then vanish, so that none of them could be found. And further that the Maid once caught one of them, and he himself another, and one of them with a hole in it, fhe tyed to her Purfe, but it vanished in a little time, but the knot of the Leather that tied it remained unaltered. That after the

ftones.

stones had thus haunted her, she fell into most grieve Wit Fits, wherein the was so violently distracted, that for reup Men would have very much ado to hold her, and that red the highest extremity of her Fits, she would cry out de de gainst Gammer Newton for hurting and tormenting uld ! her. That sometimes the Maid would be reading in well Bible, and on a fudden he hath feen the Bible ftruck on om C of her Hand into the middle of the Room, and she infell hath feen two Bibles laid on her Breast, and in the twinkling of an Eye they would be cast betwixt the two Beds the Maid lay upon, sometimes the uoba Nic ght Beds the Maid lay upon, sometimes thrown into the M. middle of the Room, and that Nicholas Pyne held the ad so M Bible in the Maids hand so fast, that it being suddenly aid fnatcht away, two of the leaves were torn. That in the I many other Fits the Maid was removed strangely, in the ode twinkling of an Eye, out of the Bed, fometimes into a ne the bottom of a Chest with Linnen, under all the Line nen, and the Linnen not at all disordered, sometime tre betwixt the two Beds she lay on, sometimes under a par- lou cel of Wooll, fometimes betwixt his Bed and the Mat Her of it in another Room; and once she was laid on a small wha deal Board, which lay on the top of the House betwixt the two SollarBeams, where he was forced to rear upLadders wu to have her fetcht down. That in her Fits she hath often el Vomited up Wooll, Pins, Horse-nails, Stubs, Straw, Needles, and Moss, with a kind of white Foam or Spittle, and hath had feveral Pins stuck into her Arms and Hands, that sometimes a Man must pull three or sour times before he could pull one of them out; and some have been stuck between the flesh and the skin, where they might be perfectly feen, but not taken out, nor any place feen where they were put in. That when the Witch was brought into the Room, where she was, she would be in more violent and longer lasting Fits than at other times. That all the time the Witch was at liberty, the Maid was ill, and as foon as she was committed and bolted, she recovered and was well, and that when the

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Witch was removed to Corke, the Maid fell ill. And reupon the Mayor of Youghall sent to see if she were ted or no, and to acquaint them the Maid was ill, d desire them, if the Witch were not bolted, they ingo suld bolt her. That she immediately mended and was well as ever she was: and when the Messenger came well as ever she was: and when the Witch was bolted, but to be the very time the Maid amended at

its he sughall.

Nicholas Pyne being sworn, saith, That the second with the Nicholas Pyne being sworn, saith, That the second the two ght after that the Witch was in Prison, being the 24 two ght after that the Witch was in Prison, Roger Hawkins, the March last, he and Joseph Thompson, Roger Hawkins, the adsome others, went to speak with her concerning the last and told her, that it was the general Opinion of denly said, and told her, that it was the general Opinion of at in the Town, that she had bewitched her, and desired her the odeal freely with them, whether she had bewitched her into rno. She faid she had not bewitched her, but it may be Line he had over-looked her, and that there was a great difrence betwixt bewitching and over-looking, and that she ould not have done her any harm if she had not toucht Mat er, and that therefore she had kist her. And she said, mall hat what mischief she thought of at that time she kist wint er, that would fall upon her, and that she would not des out confess she had wronged the Maid, and thereupon often ell down upon her Knees, and prayed God to forgive raw, her for wronging the poor Wench. They wisht that she pit might not be wholly destroyed by her; to which she laid it must be another that must help her, and not they that did the harm. And then she said, there were others, four as Goody Half-penny, and Goody Dod in Town, that could do these things as well as she, and that it might ome be one of them that had done the Maid wrong.

That towards Evening, the Door of the Prison shook, and she arose up hastily and said, What makest thou here this time a night? and there was a very great noise, as if some Body with Bolts and Chains had been running up and down the Room, and they asked her what it was the spoke to, and what it was made the noise; and

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the faid she faw nothing, neither did she speak, and fhe did, it was fhe knew not what. But the next she confest it was a Spirit, and her Familiar in the fa

of a Grey-hound.

He faith further, That he and Mr. Edward Perry, a others, for Trial of her took a Tyle off the Prison, in to the place where the Witch lay, and carried it to House where the Maid lived, and put it into the firet it was red-hot, and then dropped some of the Maid's W ter upon it, and the Witch was then grievoully to mented, and when the Water was confumed the mone t well again.

And as to the stones falling on and cast at the Mail as to the Maid's Fits, her removal into the Chest under the Wooll, betwixt the Fether-Beds, on the top of the deal Board, betwixt two Sollar Beams, concerning the Bibles and their remove, his holding one of them in the Maids hands till two Leaves were torn, concerning the Maids Vomiting, and calling out against the Witch, k agreeth perfectly throughout with John Pyne as before,

Edward Perry being likewise sworn, deposeth, That y, he, Mr. Greatrix, and Mr. Blackwall, went to the Maid and Mr. Geatrix and he had read of a way to discovera his Witch, which he would put in practice. And so they out fent for the Witch, and set her on a Stool, and a Shoe maker with a strong Awl endeavoured to stick it in the stool, but could not till the third time. And then they not bad her come off the Stool, but she said she was very weary and could not stir. Then two of them pulled her off, and the Man went to pull out his Awi, and it into his hand with half an Inch broke off the blade of the it, and they all looked to have found where it had been stuck, but could find no place where any entry had been made by it. Then they took another Awl, and put it into the Maid's hand, and one of them took the Maid's hand, and ran violently at the Witches hand with it, but cou'd not enter it, though the Awl was so bent that none of them could put it streight again. Then Mo Plackmal

hand a half long, and a quarter of an Inch deep, but led not at all. Then he launc'd the other hand, and

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He further saith, That after she was in Prison, he on, ne at with Roger Hawkins and others to discourse with Witch about the Maid, and they askt what it was firet spake to the day before, and after some denial, she d's We dit was a Greyhound which was her Familiar, and ly to ly to ant out at the Window; and then she said, If I have the me the Maid hurt, I am forry for it. And being then Maid wer did bewitch her, but confessed she had over-looked under that time she kist her, but that she could not now of the lp her, for none could help that did the mischief, but hers. And further the Deponent saith, That after at in the e Assize at Cashal, he meeting with one William Lap, ig the d discoursing about these passages with him, the said h, he ap told the Deponent, that if he would but take a That y, and heat it red hot in the Fire, and then take some Maid, of the Maids Water and drop upon it, that so long as very his was doing, he should find the Witch most griether busy tormented: That afterward he, Edward Perry, the Vicholas Pyne and others, put this in practice, and found, the hat the Witch was extreamly tormented and vexed, and when the experiment was over, she came to her left, and then they askt her how she came to hurt the her laid? and she said, that what evil she thought against op he Maid that time the kist her, that would fall upon her, and that she could not have hurt her except she had een oucht her, and then she fell on her Knees, and confessed he had wronged the Maid, and defired God to forgive er. And then they put her upon faying the Lord's rayer, but she could not say the words, and forgive us it ur trespasses.

Mr. Wood, a Minister, being likewise sworn, and Exmined, deposeth, That having heard of the Stones

dropt

dropt and thrown at the Maid, and of her Fits, Richa meeting with the Maids Brother, he went along h, him to the Maid, and found her in her Fit, cryinge rence at f against Gammer Newton, that she prickt her and h her. And when she came to her felf, he asked her wi Go at to had troubled her, and she said Gammer Newton. the Deponent said, why, she was not there. Yes, if ater The. I faw her by my Bed-side. The Deponent then a con her the original of all, which she related from the in ong d de of her begging the Beef, and after Killing, and for ami That then they caused the Maid to be a t th up, and fent for Florence Newton, but she refused v T come, pretending the was fick, though indeed it a my, peared she was well. Then the Mayor of Youghall can in and spoke with the Maid, and then sent again, a caused Florence Newton to be brought in, and immed ately the Maid fell into her Fit far more violent, a three times as long as at any other time, and all the time the Witch was in the Chamber, the Maid cried or continually of being hurt here and there, but neve named the Witch; but as foon as she was removed, the fhe cried out against her by the name of Gammer No. ton, and this for feveral times. And still when the Witch was out of the Chamber, the Maid would defin to go to Prayers, and he found good affections in he in time of Prayer, but when the Witch was brought a again, though never fo privately, although she cont not possibly, as the Deponent conceives, see her, it would be immediately sensless and like to be strangled and so would continue till the Witch were taken ou and then though never fo privately carried away, fx would come again to her fenses. That afterwards M. Greatrix, Mr. Blackwall, and some others, who would needs satisfie themselves in the influence of the Witchs presence, tried it and found it several times. Although he did it with all possible privacy, and so as none could think it possible for the Maid to know either of the Witches coming in or going out. Richard

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Richard Mayre Mayor of Youghall, being likewise sworn. h, That about the 24th of March last, he sent for rence Newton, and Examined her about the Maid, and at first denied it, and accused Goodwife Halfpenny, Goodwife Dod, but at length when he had caused a at to be provided, and had thought to have tried the ater Experiment on them all three, then Florence Newconfessed she had over-looked the Maid, and done her he time ong with a kiss. For which she was heartily forry. d for d desired God to forgive her. That then he likewise beginning amined the other two Women, Halfpenny and Dod, they utterly deny'd it, and were content to abide Trial. Whereupon he caused both Florence, Halfmy, and Dod, to be carried to the Maid. ll can in, and d her these two Women, or one of them were said by name ammer Newton to have done her hurt, but she answert, a , No, no, they are honest Women, but it is Gammer ed on that hurts me, and I believe she is not far off. neve d then she fell into a most violent Fit, ready to be angled, till the Witch was removed, and then she No las well again, and this for three several times. rther deposeth, that there were three Aldermen in ughall, whose Children she had kist, as he had heard in he sem affirm, and all the Children died presently after.

the ind as to the sending to Cork to have the Bolts put on,

cook years as is formerly deposed.

r, he Joseph Thompson being likewise sworn, said, That he gled sent in March last with Roger Hawkins, Nicholas Pyne, out and others to the Prison to confer with Florence Newton, the bout the Maid. But she would confess nothing that me. But towards Night there was a noise at the Prison Door, as if something had shak't the Door, and to lorence started up and said, What aileth thee to be here at ough his time of the Night? and there was much noise. And ould bey asked her what she spoke to, and what made the the reat noise? But she denied that she spake, or that she new of any noise, and said, if I spoke, I said I knew

not

not what. And they went their ways at that time, a went to her again the next night, and asked her re feriously about the last Nights passage, and the noise And then she confessed to them that it was a Greyhon that came to her, and that she had seen it former and that it went out at the Window. And then fle on fessed she had done the Maid wrong, for which she forry, and defired God to forgive her.

Hitherto we have heard the most considerable in dence touching Florence Newton's Witchcraft un Mary Longdon, for which she was committed to You ball Prison, March 24. 1661. But April following bewitcht one David Jones to death, by kiffing his Ha through the Grate of the Prison, for which she wash dicted at Corke Affizes, and the Evidence is as fo

Elenor Jones Relict of the faid David Jones, bei Sworn and Examined in open Court, what she km concerning any practice of Witchcraft by the faid if rence Newton upon the faid David her Husband? gar in the Evidence, That in April last, the said David late Husband having been out all the Night, came how early in the Morning, and faid to the faid Elenor h Wife, where dost thou think I have been all Night To which she answered, she knew not. Whereuponk replied, I and Frank Befely have been standing Centils over the Witch all Night. To which she the said Elem faid, why, what hurt is that? Hurt, quoth he? many I doubt it's never a jot the better for me. For the had kist my Hand through the Grate, and ever fince shell my Hand, I have had a great pain in that Arm, and verily believe she hath bewitched me, if ever she witched any Man. To which she answered, the Lor forbid. That all the Night, and continually from the time he was restless and ill, complaining exceedingly a great pain in his Arm for seven days together, and the feven days end he complained, that the pain w come from his Arm to his Heart, and then kept his Be

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Francis Beseley, being Sworn and Examined, said. That about the time aforementioned meeting with the aid David Jones, and discoursing with him of the sevealreports then ftirring concerning this Florence Newton. who was then in Prison at Youghall for betwitching Mary Longdon) viz. that she had several Fami iars reorting to her in fundry shapes, the said David Jones old him the faid Francis Beseley, that he had a great nind to watch her the faid Florence Newton one Night. o fee whether he could observe any Cats or other Crea-ures resort to her through the Grate, as 'twas suspected wash they did, and desired the said Francis to go with him, as so which he did. And that when they came thither David fones came to Florence, and told her, that he heard she could not fay the Lord's Prayer: To which she answered, he could. He then desired her to say it: But she excued her self by the decay of Memory through old Age. Then David Jones began to teach her, but she could not,

or would not fay it, though often taught it.

Upon which the faid David Jones and Befeley being withdrawn a little from her, and discoursing of her, not being able to learn this Prayer, the called out to David Jones, and said, David! David! come hither, I can ay the Lord's Prayer now. Upon which David went towards her, and the said Deponent would have pluckt him back, and perswaded him not to have gone to her. But he would not be perswaded, but went to the Grate o her, and she began to fay the Lord's Prayer, but could not say. [Forgive us our Trespasses.] So that David again taught her. Which she seemed to take very thankully, and told him she had a great mind to have kist him, but that the Grate hindred, but desired she might kis his Hand. Whereupon he gave her his Hand through the Grate, and she kist it, and towards break of day, they went away and parted, and soon after the Depo-

pent heard, that David Jones was ill.

Where-

Whereupon he went to visit him, and found himabout two or three days after very ill of a pain in the Arm. Which he exceedingly complained of, and told the Deponent, that ever since he parted with him, he had been seized on with that pain, and that the Old Hag had bewitched him when she kist his Hand, and that she had him now by the Hand, and was pulling of his Arm. And he said, Do you not see the Old Hag how she pulls me? Well, I lay my Death on her, she has bewitched me. And several times after would complain, that she had tormented him, and had bewitched him, that he laid his Death on her. And after sourteen days languishing, he the said David Jones died.

### Advertisement.

His Relation is taken out of a Copy of an Authentic Record, as I conceive, every half sheet having W. Alton writ in the Margin, and then again W. Aston a the end of all, who in all likelihood must be some publick Notary, or Record-Keeper. But this Witch of Youghall is so famous, that I have heard Mr. Greatrix speak of her at my Lord Conway's at Ragley, and remember very well he told the story of the Awl to me there. There is in this Relation an eximious example of the Magical venom of Witches, (whence they are called Veneficæ) in that all the mischief this Witch did, was by kiffing, or some way touching the party she bewitched, and she confest, unless she touched her, she could do her no hurt. Which may be called a Magical venom, or contagion. But how Over looking and Bewitch ing are distinguished with those of this Hellish Fraternith I know not. But that Mary Longdon was bewitch'd by her over-looking her, is manifest. Whether this Overlooking relates to oppanus Ba'onavo, and that the Magical venom came out at her Eyes when the kiffed the Maid, and whether this oppanues Ba'onar & was the first kind of Witchery

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Vitchery distinct from that of bewitching people by Images ade of Wax, and afterward any bewitching by meer lookg or touching, was called Over-looking, we will leave to e Criticks of that black School to decide. As also what is at, which in the Witches shape, so haunts and torments e bewitched party. For that it is not the meer fancy of the g of witched seems reasonable to judge, because their meer ancy could not create such kinds of extream torments to And therefore it is either the Witches Familiar in er shape, or the Astral Spirit of the Witch, because the Vitch is sometimes wounded by striking at her Appearance, teen it happened in the appearance of Jane Brooks, and also that of Julian Cox, as you shall find in the Relation folming.

#### RELAT. VIII.

The Narrative of Mr. Pool, a Servant and Officer in the Court to Judge Archer in his Circuits, concerning the Trial of Julian Cox for Witchcraft; who being himself then present an Officer in the Court, noted as follows, viz.

Tulian Cox, aged about 70 years, was Indicted at Taunton in Somersetshire, about Summer Assizes 1663. efore Judge Archer, then Judge of Assize there, for Witchcraft, which she practised upon a young Maid, vhereby her body languished, and was impaired of Health, by reason of strange Fits upon account of the aid Witchcraft.

The Evidence against her was divided into two Branches; First, to prove her a Witch in general; Seondly, To prove her guilty of the Witchcraft conained in the Indictment.

.For the proof of the first particular, The first Witels was an Huntsman, who swore that he went out with pack of Hounds to Hunt a Hare, and not far from

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Julian Cox her House, he at last started a Hare. The Dogs hunted her very close, and the third ring hunted her in view, till at last the Huntsman perceiving the Hare almost spent, and making towards a great Bull he ran on the other fide of the Bush to take her up, and preserve her from the Dogs. But as foon as he laid hands on her, it proved to be Julian Cox, who had be head groveling on the ground, and her globes (as he exprest it) upward. He knowing her, was affrighted that his Hair on his Head stood on end; and yet small to her, and askt her what brought her there. But he was fo far out of Breath, that she could not make him any answer. His Dogs also came up with full cry to recover the Game, and smelt at her, and so left of Hunting any further. And the Huntsman with his Dogs

went home presently, sadly affrighted.

Secondly, Another Witness swore, That as he palfed by Cox her Door, she was taking a Pipe of Tobaco upon the Threshold of her Door, and invited himw come in and take a Pipe, which he did. And as he was taking, Julian said to him, Neighbour look what a pretty thing there is. He look't down, and there was monstrous great Toad betwixt his Leggs, staring him in the face. He endeavoured to kill it by spurning it, but could not hit it. Whereupon Julian bad him for bear, and it would do him no hurt. But he threw down his Pipe and went home. (which was about two Miles off of Julian Cox her House) and told his Family what had happened, and that he believed it was one of Julian Cox her Devils. After, he was taking a Pipe of Tobacco at home, and the same Toad appeared betwixt his Leggs. He took the Toad out to kill it, and to his thinking cut it in several pieces, but returning to his Pipe, the Toad still appeared. He endeavoured to burn it, but could not. At length he took a Switch and beat it. The Toad ran several times about the Room to avoid him, he still pursuing it with correction. At length the Toad cryed and vanish't, and he was never after troubled with it. Thirdly, unted

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Thirdly, Another swore, That Julian past by his Yard while his Beasts were in Milking, and stooping down, scored upon the ground for some small time. During which time his Cattle run mad, and some ran their heads against the Trees, and most of them died speedily. Whereupon concluding they were bewitched, ne was after advised to this Experiment, to find out the Witch, viz. to cut off the Ears of the bewitched Beasts and burn them, and that the Witch would be in misery, and could not rest till they were plucked out. Which he tried, and while they were burning, Julian Cox came into the House, raging and scolding, that they had abused her without cause, but she went presently to the Fire, and took out the Ears that were burning, and then she was quiet.

Fourthly, Another Witness swore, That she had seen Julian Cox sly into her own Chamber Window in her full proportion, and that she very well knew her, and

was fure it was fhe. Fifthly, Another Evidence was the confession of Julian Cox her felf upon her Examination before a Justice of Peace, which was to this purpose, That she had been often tempted by the Devil to be a Witch, but never confented. That one Evening she walkt about a Mile from her own House, and there came riding towards her three Persons upon three Broomstaves, born up about a yard and an half from the ground. Two of them she formerly knew, which was a Witch and a Wizzard that were hanged for Witchcraft for several years before. The third person she knew not. He came in the shape of a black Man, and tempted her to give him her Soul, or to that effect, and to express it by pricking her Finger, and giving her name in her Blood in token of it, and told her that she had revenge against several persons that had wronged her, but could not bring her purpose to pass without his help, and that upon the terms aforesaid he would assist her to be revenged against them. But she said, she did not consent

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This was the fum of the general Evidence to reffin prove her a Witch.

But now for the fecond particular, to prove he guilty of the Witchcraft upon the Maid, whereof & hat 3

was indicted, this Evidence was offered:

It was proved, that Julian Cox came for an Almsh And the House where this Maid was a Servant, and that the hand Maid told her, she should have none, and gave here south cross answer that displeased Julian. Whereupon Julia is if was angry, and told the Maid she should repent it be but to fore Night, and so she did. For before Night she was her taken with a Convulsion Fit, and after that left her, he Nig faw Julian Cox following her, and cryed out to the Peo ple in the House to lave her from Julian.

But none faw Julian but the Maid, and all did impute it to her imagination only. And in the Night she cryed out of Julian Cox, and the black Man, that they came upon her Bed and tempted her to drink fomething they offered her. But she cryed out, she defied the Devils Drenches. This also they imputed to her imagination, and bad her be quiet, because they in the same Chamba with her, did not fee or hear any thing, and they

thought it had been her conceit only.

The Maid the next Night expecting the same conflict she had the Night before, brought up with her a Knife, and laid it at her Beds head. About the same time of the Night as before, Julian and the black Man came again upon the Maids Bed, and tempted her to drink that which they brought, but she refused, crying in the audience of the rest of the Family, that she defied the Devils Drenches, and took the Knife and stabbed Julian, and, as she said, she wounded her in the Leg, and was importunate with the Witness to ride to Julian Cox's House presently to see if it were not so. The Witness went and took the Knife with him. Julian Cox would not let him in, but they forced the Door-open, and found a fresh Wound in Julian's Leg, as the Maid had said, which did suit with the Knife, and Julian had been just drelling ence be ressing it when the Witness came. There was Blood

Iso found upon the Maids Bed.

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ove he The next Morning the Maid continued her out-cries. eof hat Julian Cox appeared to her in the House Wall, and offered her great Pins which she was forced to swallow. Almsh And all the day the Maid was observed to convey her and to the House Wall, and from the Wall to her Mouth, and she seemed, by the motion of her Mouth, Julia s if the did eat fomething. But none faw any thing it be but the Maid, and therefore thought still it might be he was her phancy, and did not much mind it But towards r, he Night this Maid began to be very ill, and complained, Peo. that the Pins that Julian forced her to eat out of the Wall, did torment her in all parts of her Body that the npute rould not endure it, and made lamentable out-cries for pain. Whereupon several Persons being present, the Maid was undressed, and in several parts of the Maids Body feveral great swellings appeared, and out of the heads of the swellings several great Pins points appeared. Which the Witnesses took out, and upon the Trial there were about Thirty great Pins produced in Court (which I my felf handled) all which were fworn by feveral Witnesses, that they were taken out of the Maids Body in manner as is aforefaid.

Judge Archer, who tryed the Prisoner, told the Jury, that he had heard, that a Witch could not repeat that Petition in the Lord's Prayer, viz. [ And lead us not into temptation and having this occasion he would try the Experiment, and told the Jury, that whether she could or could not, they were not in the least measure to guide their Verdict according to it, because it was not legal Evidence, but that they must be guided in their Verdict by the former Evidences given in upon Oath only.

The Prisoner was called for up to the next Bar to the Court, and demanded if she could fay the Lord's Prayer? She faid she could, and went over the Prayer readily till the came to that Petition. Then the faid [And lead us into temptation] or [And lead us not into no tempta-

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though the was directed to fay it after one that repeated it to her distinctly. But she could not repeat it other wise than is expressed already, though tried to do it near half a score times in open Court After all which the Jury found her guilty, and Judgment having been given, within three or four days she was Executed without any Confession of the Fact.

# Advertisement.

His is a Copy of the Narrative fent by Mr. Pool, Of. 24. 1672. to Mr. Archer of Emmanuel Colledge, Nephew to the Judge, upon the desire of Dr. Bright. But I remember here at Cambridge, I heard the main passage, of this Narrative, when they first were spread abroad after the Assizes, and particularly by G. Rust, after Bishop of Dromore in Ireland. Nor do I doubt but it is a true atcount of what was attested before Judge Archer at the Asse zes. For it is a thing to me altogether incredible, that he that was an Officer, or Servant of the Judge, and present in the Court at the Examination and Trial, and there took Notes, should write a Narrative, when there were so many Ear-witnesses besides himself of the same things, that would be obnoxious to the disproof of those who were present as well as himself. It may not be amiss here to transcribe what Dr. M. did write to Mr. G. touching this story in a Letter da ted Dec. 26. 1678.

This Narrative, says he, bath the most Authentick confirmation that human affairs are capable of, Sense and the sacredness of an Oath. But yet I confess, I heard that Judge Archer has been taxed by some of over-much credulity, for sentencing Julian Cox to death upon those Evidences. But to deal freely, I suspect by such, as out of their ignorance mis-interpreted several passages in the Evidence, or the e of such a dull stupid Sadducean temper, that they

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lieve there are no Spirits nor Witches. And truly I must nfels, that the Huntsman, though he deposed upon Oath. at when he came in to take up the Hare at the Bush, it oved to be Julian Cox, with her face towards the ground, hich, c. his expressing of himself touching her Globes, and the been logs smelling, &c. looks something humour somly and ludiwith. coully on it. But I must further add, that I think it was by that his fancy was tickled with the featness of the Pheomenon, not that he would be so wicked as to tell a lie upon Oath and that for nothing. Sic vita hominum est. Jays Tully, ut ad maleficium nemo conetur fine spe atque molumento accedere. But that those half-witted People bought he swore false, I suppose was because they imagined that what he told implied that Julian Cox was turned into an Hare. Which she was not, nor did his report imply any such real Metamophorsis of her Body, but that these ludicrows Damons exhibited to the fight of this Huntsman and his Dogs the shape of an Hare, one of them turning himself into such a form, and others hurrying on the body of Julian near the same place, and at the same swiftness, but interpoing betwixt that Hare-like Spectre and her Body, modifying the Air, so that the scene there, to the beholders sight. was as if nothing but Air were there, and a shew of Earth perpetually suited to that where the Hare passed. As I have heard of some Painters that have drawn the Sky in an huge Land-skip, so lively, that the Birds have flown against it, thinking it free Air, and so have fallen down. And if Painters and uglers, by the tricks of Legerdemain, can do such Strange feats to the deceiving of the fight, it is no wonder that these Airy invisible Spirits as far surpass them in all such prastigious doings, as the Air surpasses the Earth for Subtilty.

And the like Præstigiæ may be in the Toad. It might be a real Toad (though attnated and guided by a Damon) which was cut in pieces, and that also which was whipe about, and at tast snatcht out of sight (as if it had vanished) by these Aerial Hocus-Pocus's. And if some Juglers have tricks to take hot Coals into their Mouth without burt, cer-

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sainly it is no strange thing that some small uttempt did not suffice to burn that Toad. That such a Toad, sent by Witch, and crawling up the Body of the Man of the How as he sate by the Fire's side, was overmastered by him and his Wife together, and burnt in the fire; I have hear sometime ago, credibly reported, by one of the Isle of Ely Of these Damoniack Vermin, I have heard other stories also, as of a Rat that followed a Man some score of Miles, trudging through thick and thin along with him. So link

difficulty is there in that of the Toad.

And that of Julian Cox's being seen to fly in at her om Chamber Window, there is no difficulty in it, if it be understood of her Familiar, the black Man, that had transformed himself into her shape. For this is no such unusual thing so Witches to appear, either in their Astral Spirits, or by their Familiars, as if it were their very bodily Persons. But when she appeared to the Maid, together with the black Man, and offered her to drink, it is likely it was her Astral Spirit, and Julian's being wounded in her Body by the wound on her Astral Spirit, is just such another case, as that of Jane Brooks, which you your self note in your Book of Witch craft.

The most incredible thing is her eating of Pins, she knowing them to be such. But they that are bewitched are not themselves, and being possessed are actuated in the parts of their Body, and their mind driven by that ugly inmate in them, to what he will; which is notorious in the story of Mrs. Frogmorton's Children. And for the Pins thus swallowed, their coming out into the exteriour parts of her Body, Examples of this sort are infinite; and far more strange than these are recorded by Baptista Van Helmont, de la-

jectis.

These are the most incredible passages in this Narrative, and yet you see how credible they are, if rightly understood. But those that believe no Spirits, will believe nothing never so credible of this kind, and others that have some natural aversion from these things, will presently interpret them in the vulgar sense, and then sweetly sneer at their own igno-

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Milly And if any one be so curious as to desire an account of Mr. oline 6. his further inquiry into this business, I can tell him, that e wrote to Mr. Hunt, who then busie in some Court, yet er our hade shift to read the Narrative, and wrote two or three ines to him back to this effect. That one principal Evi-Lence was omitted in the Narrative, but that is nothing egainst the truth of the rest. But he adds also, that some things were false. Which would stumble one, and make him think that the credit of this Narrative is quite blafted thereby. But this riddle is easily unriddled by him that considers, that Mr. Hunt may respect those things that are faid to be confest by her in her examination before a Justice of Peace. For he also having some time Examined her, and she making no such confession to him (as Mr. G. himself Says in a Letter to Dr. M. that he perused that Examination in Mr Hunt's Book, and there was not any thing considerable therein) might speak this in reference to the Examination which he had taken, she then not confessing fo freely as to some other Justice, whose Examination therefore was made use of in the Court. But this cannot concern at all the rest of the Narrative, which was given upon Oath in the Court in the hearing of all. This I thought fit not to omit, as being desirous to deal with all faithfulness in concealing nothing, and not to impose upon the Reader, but that he may make his judgment upon the whole matter.

As for the Witches being burried along with that Harelike Spectre, her being out of breath (as the Huntsman testified) makes it most probable; or at least that she was hurried from some other place on the earth, or in the air (to meet there at length with the Hare-like Spectre) but this invisibly by that une twia, or Prestigiatory art or faculty of

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these ludicrous Damons, whereby they can so modifie the Air immediately next to the party they would conceal, that it looks there like the free Skie, or what Landskip they please, as when they shew in a Shew-stone or Glass, the very Room in which the party is, the Damon by the power of his Imagination, so modifying at least his own Vehicle. Which power some of those of the Atheistick Brotherhood cannot with any face deny, supposing there are Damons, they giving a greater power to the Imagination of a Man, as if it were able to transform the Air into real Birds or Mice, or such like Creatures livingly such for the present. But any thing must be believed, rather than the Existence of Witches and Damons.

It will not be amis here to take notice what an eminent Example this Julian Cox is of Moses his Megnonenah or Mecallephah taken in the same sense, that is, of such a Witch as is thought by a unefunia, or Prestigiatory power (though it is the Devil that does these feats, not she) to transform her self into strange shapes, and use other such like deceptions of the fight. As also it is a notable instance of the Astral Spirits of Witches, how strongly, though at a distance of place, they are tied together in a fatal Sympathy with their Bodies, the Body of Julian being wounded by a stab at her Astral Spirit, as it fared alo in Jane Brooks, and an Old Woman in Cambridge-shire, whose Astra Spirit coming into a Mans House, (as he was sitting alone at the Fire) in the shape of an huge Cat and setting her self before the Fire, not far from him, he stole a stroke at the back of it with a Fire-fork, and seemed to break the back of it, but it scambled from him, and vanisht he knew not how. But such an Old Woman, a reputed Witch, was found dead in her Bed that very Night, with her Back broken, as I have heard some years ago credibly reported.

That also is a marvellous Magical Sympathy in this story of Julian Cox, that the burning of the Ears of the Beast bewitched by her, should put her into such rage and torment. Like the heating of the Tile red hot in the story of Florence Newton, and pouring some of the bewitched Maid's Water

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upon it. Which puts me in mind of a very remarkable story of this kind, told me by Mr. Brearly, once Fellow of Christ's Colledge in Cambridge, who boarded in an House in Suffolk, where his Landlady had been ill handled by Witch-

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For an Old Man that Travelled up and down the Country. and had some acquaintance at that House, calling in and asking the Man of the House how he did and his Wife; He told him that himself was well, but his Wife had been a long time in a languishing condition, and that she was haunted with a thing in the shape of a Bird, that would flurr near to her face, and that she could not enjoy her natural rest well. The Old Man bid him and his Wife be of good courage. It was but a dead Spright, he faid, and he would put him in a course to rid his Wife of this languishment and trouble. He therefore advised him to take a Bottle, and put his Wives Urine into it, together with Pins, and Needles, and Nails, and Cork them up, and set the Bottle to the Fire, but be sure the Cork be fast in it, that it fly not out. The Man followed the prescription, and set the Bottle to the Fire well Corkt, which when it had felt a while the heat of the Fire, began to move and joggle a little, but he for sureness took the Fireshovel, and held it hard upon the Cork. And as he thought, he felt something one while on this side, another while on that, shove the Fireshovel off, which he still quickly put on again, but at last at one shoving the Gork bounced out, and the Urine, Pins, Nails and Needles, all flew up, and gave a report like a Pistol, and his Wife continued in the same trouble and languishment still.

Not long after, the Old Man came to the House again, and inquired of the Man of the House how his Wife did. Who answered, as ill as ever, if not worse. He askt him if he had followed his direction. Yes, says he, and told him the event as is abovesaid. Ha, quoth he, it seems it was too nimble for you. But now I will put you in a way that will make the business sure. Take your Wive's Orine as before, and Cork it in a Bottle with Nails, Pins, and Needles, and bury it in the Earth; and that will do the feat. The Man

Man did accordingly. And his Wife began to mend sensibly and in a competent time was finely well recovered. But there came a Woman from a Town some miles off to their Honge with a lamentable Out-cry, that they badkilled her Husband. They askt her what she meant, and thought her distracted telling her they knew neither her nor her Husband. Yes, saith she, you have killed my Husband, he told me so on his Death. Bed. But at last they understood by her, that her Husband was a Wizzard, and had bewitched this Mans Wise, and that this Counter-practice prescribed by the Old Man, which saved the Mans Wise from languishment, was the death of that Wizzard that had bewitched her. This story did Mr. Brearly hear from the Man and Womans own Mouth who were concerned, and at whose House he for a time Boarded,

nor is there any doubt of the truth thereof.

But it will be more easie for any rational Man to believe stories of this kind, than to find out a satisfactory account of the operation and effect, or to assure the lawfulness of such counter-practice against Witchcraft, unless they can be refolved into the Sympathy and Synenergy of the Spiritus Mundanus, (which Plotinus calls & µiyar yonta, the grand Magician) such as the operation of the Weapon-salve, and other Magnetick Cures are resolved into. And forasmuch as the power of a truly Divine Magick, such as Prophets and Holy Langivers are endued with, is too great and awgust to be found in ordinary good Men, that are to bring in no new Law or Religion into the World, the benignity of Providence is to be acknowledged in that the Villanies of Witchcraft lie obnoxious to such a natural or ratified way of Discoveries and Counter-practices as these. But how this obnoxiousness of Witches is complicated with their Familiars sucking their Bodies, is a point too nice and prolix to enter upon here. But it is most safe not to tamper at all with these things, and most happy to have no occasion for it.

Lastly, As for Julian Cox, her not being able to say one of the Petitions in the Lords Prayer, the case is like that of Florence Newton the Irish Witch, but unlike in this, that

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was not the same Petition Florence Newton fluck at. nd I remember when I had the curiosity with a Friend of long, ine, of examining certain Witches at Castle-hill in Camridge, the most notorious of them, who also was hanged for Witch, offered to say the Creed and Lord's Prayer, as an Sail regument she was no Witch, and so far as I remember, she sail the Lord's Prayer right, but was out at the Creed; nor and I think this any certain sign of their guilt or innocency, and and therefore Judge Archer did well to lay no stress on it. but these things are of less moment, and therefore I pass to of be next Relation, which looks not fo much like Witchcraft. s the Apparition of the Ghost of one deceased.

#### RELAT. IX.

Which is a Relation of Thomas Goddard of Marleborough. in the County of Wilts, Weaver, made the 23 Nov. 1674.

THO faith, That on Monday the Ninth of this Instant, as he was going to Ogborn, at a Style on the Highway near Mr. Goddard's Ground, about Nine in the Morning, he met the Apparition of his Father-in-Law, one Edward Avon of this Town, Glover, who died in May last, having on, to his appearance, the same Cloths. Hat, Stockings and Shoes, he did usually wear when he was living, standing by, and leaning over that Style. Which when he came near, the Apparition spake to him with an audible Voice these words, Are you afraid? To which he answered, I am, thinking on one who is dead and buried, whom you are like. To which the Apparition replyed with the like Voice, I am he that you were thinking on, I am Edward Avon your Father-in-Law, come near to me, I will do you no harm. To which Goddard answered, I trust in him who hath bought my Soul with his precious Blood, you hall do me no harm. Then the Apparition said, How stand stand cases at home? Goddard askt, what cases? Then it askt him how do William and Mary, meaning, ashe conceived, his Son William Avon a Shoemaker here, and Mary his Daughter the said Goddard's Wife. Then in faid, What! Taylor is dead, meaning, as he thought one Taylor of London, who Married his Daughter Sarah, which Taylor died about Michaelmas last. Then the A. parition held out its hand, and in it, as Goddard conceived, twenty or thirty shillings in silver, and then spake with a loud Voice: Take this Money and send it to Sa. rah; for I shut up my Bowels of compassion towards her in the time of my life, and now here is somewhat for her. And then faid, Mary (meaning his the faid Goddard's Wife as he conceived) is troubled for me; but tell her God hath shewed mercy to me contrary to my deserts. But the said Goddard answered, In the Name of IESUS CHRIST I refuse all such Money. Then the Apparition said, 1 perceive you are afraid, I will meet you some other time, And immediately it went up the Lane to his appearance. So he went over the same Style, but saw it no more that day.

He faith, the next night about feven of the Clock, it came and opened his Shop Window, and stood in the like Cloaths, looked him in the Face, but faid nothing to him. And the next Night after, as Goddard went forth into his Backside with a Candle light in his Hand, it appeared to him again in the same Shape, but he being in Fear, ran into his House, and saw it no more

then.

But he faith, That on Thursday the twelfth instant, as he came from Chilton, riding down the Hill, between the Mannor-House and Axford-Farm-Field, he saw somewhat like a Hare crossed his way, at which his Horse frighted threw him in the dirt, and as soon as he could recover on his Feet, the same Apparition there met him again in the same Habit, and there standing about eight foot directly before him in the way, spake again to him with a loud Voice, Source (a word he commonly used when

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when living) you have stayed long; and then faid to him. Thomas, bid William Avon take the Sword that he had of me, which is now in his House, and carry it to the Wood as me go to Alton, to the upper end of the Wood by the wayside; for with that Sword I did wrong above Thirty years ago, and he never prospered since he had that Sword. And bid William Avon give his Sifter Sarah twenty hillings of the Money which he had of me. And do you talk with Edward Lawrence, for I borrowed twenty thillings of him feveral years ago, and did fay I had paid bim, but I did not pay it him; and I would defire you to pay him twenty shillings out of the Money which you had from James Elliot at two payments. Which Money the faid Goddard now faith was five pounds, which fames Elliot, a Baker here, owed the faid Avon on Bond, and which he the faid Goddard had received from the faid Elliot fince Michaelmas at two payments, viz. 35 s. at one, and 3 l. 5 s. at another payment. And it further faid to him, Tell Margaret (meaning his own Wife as he conceived) that I would defire her to deliver up the little which I gave to little Sarah Taylor to the Child, or to any one she will trust for it. But if the will not, speak to Edward Lawrence to perswade ber. But if she will not then, tell her that I will see her very suddenly. And see that this be done within a Twelve-month and a day after my decease, and peace be with you. And to it went away over the Rails into the Wood there in the like manner as any Man would go over a Style, to his apprehension, and so he saw it no more at that time. And he faith, that he paid the twenty shillings to Edward Lawrence of this Town, who being present now, doth remember he lent the faid Avon twenty shillings about twenty years ago, which none knew but himself and Wife, and Avon and his Wife, and was never paid it again before now by this Goddard.

And this said Goddard further saith, That this very day, by Mr. Mayor's order, he, with his Brother-in-Law William Avon, went with the Sword, and about Nine a Clock this Morning, they laid down the Sword in the

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Copfe near the place the Apparition had appointed God dard to carry it, and then coming away thence, God. dard looking back, faw the same Apparition again in the like habit as before. Whereupon he called to his Brother-in-Law, and faid, Here is the Apparition of our Fa ther; Who faid, I fee nothing. Then Goddard fell of his Knees, and faid, Lord, open his Eyes that he may fee; But he replyed, Lord, grant I may not fee it, if it be the bleffed Will. And then the Apparition to Goddard's an. pearance, beckned with his hand to him to come to it And then Goddard said, In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, what would you have me to do? Then the Apparition said to him, Thomas, take up the Sword, and follow me. To which he faid, Should both of us come, or but one of us? To which it answered, Thomas, do you take up the Sword. And so he took up the Sword and followed the Apparition about ten Lugs (that is Poles) further into the Copfe, and then turning back, he flood still about a Lug and a half from it, his Brother-in-Law staying behind at the place where they first laid down the Sword. Then Goddard laying down the Sword upon the ground, faw fomething stand by the Apparition like a Mastiff Dog, of a brown colour. Then the Apparition coming towards Goddard, he stept back about two steps, and the Apparition said to him, I have a permission to you, and commission not to touch you; and then it took up the Sword, and went back to the place at which before it stood, with a Mastiff Dog by it as before, and pointed the top of the Sword into the ground, and faid, In this place lies buried the Body of him which I murdered in the year 1635. Which is now rotten and turned to dust. Whereupon Goddard faid, I do adjure you in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoft, wherefore did you do this Murder? And it faid, I took Money from the Man, and he contended with me, and fol murdered bim. Then Goddard askt him, who was Confederate with him in the faid Murder? and it faid, None but my self. Then Goddard said, What would you have 2716

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me do in this thing? And the Apparition said, This is that the World may know that I murdered a Man, and

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Then the Apparition laid down the Sword on the bare ground there, whereon grew nothing, but seemed to Goddard to be as a Grave sunk in. And then the Apparition rushing surther into the Copse vanished, and he saw it no more. Whereupon Goddard and his Brother-in-Law Avon, leaving the Sword there, and coming away together, Avon told Goddard he heard his Voice, and understood what he said, and heard other words distinct from his, but could not understand a word of it, nor saw any Apparition at all. Which he now also present affirmeth, and all which the said Goddard then attested under his hand, and affirmed he will depose the same when he shall be thereto required.

In the presence of Christ. Lypyatt, Mayor, Rolf Bayly Town-Clerk, Joshuah Sacheverell, Rector of St. Peters in Marlborough.

Examined by me

Will. Bayly.

# Advertisement.

That Tho. Goddard saw this Apparition, seems to be a thing undubitable; but whether it was his Father-in-Law's Ghost, that is more questionable. The former is consirmed from an hand at least impartial, if not disfavourable to the story. The party in his Letter to Mr. G-- writes briefly to this effect. 1. That he does verily think that this Tho. Goddard does believe the story most strongly himself. 2. That he cannot imagine what interest he should have in raising such a story, he bringing Insamy on CCC 2

his Wives Father, and obliging himself to pay twenty shillings debt, which his poverty could very ill spare. 3. That his Father in-Law Edward Avon, was a resolute sturdy Fellow in his young years, and many years a Bailiff to Arrest people. 4. That Tho. Goddard had the repute of an bonest Man, knew as much in Religion as most of his rank and breeding, and was a constant frequenter of the Church, till about a year before this happened to him, he fell off wholly to the Non-Conformists.

All this hitherto, save this last of all, tends to the Confirmation of the story. Therefore this last shall be the first Allegation against the credibility thereof. 2. It is further alledged, that possibly the design of the story may be to make him to be accounted an extraordinary some-body amongst the Dissenting Party. 3. That he is sometimes troubled with Epileptical Fits. 4. That the Mayor sent the next Morning to dig the place where the Spettre said the Murdered Man was Buried, and there was neither bones found, nor any difference of the Earth in that place from the rest.

But we answer briefly to the first, That his falling off to the Non-Conformists, though it may argue a vacillancy of his judgment, yet it does not any defect of his external senses, as if he were less able to discern when he saw or heard any thing than before: To the second, That it is a perfect contradiction to his strong belief of the truth of his own story, which plainly implies, that he did not feign it to make himself an extraordinary some-body: To the third, That an Epileptical Person, when he is out of his Fits, bath his external senses as true and entire, as a Drunken Man has when his Drunken Fit is over, or a Man awake after a night of sleep and Dreams. So that this argument has not the least shew of force with it, unless you will take away the authority of all Mens Senses, because at sometimes they have not a competent use of them, namely, in sleep, drunkenness, or the like. But now lastly, for the fourth, which is most considerable, it is yet of no greater force than to make it questionable whether this Spectre was the Ghost of his Father, or some ludicrous Goblin, that would put a trick upon Thomas

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mas Goddard, by personating his Father-in-Law, and by a falle pointing at the pretended Grave of the Murdered, make him ridiculous. For what Porphyrius has noted, I doubt not but is true, That Dæmons sometimes personate the Souls of the deceased. But if an uncoffined Body being laid in a ground exposed to wet and dry, the Earth may in 30 or 40 years space consume the very bones, and assimilate all to the rest of the mold, when some Earths will do it in less than the fifteenth or twentieth part of that space: Or if the Ghost of Edward Avon might have forgot the certain place (it being no grateful object of his memory) where he buried the murdered Man, and only quessed that to be it, because it was something sunk, as if the Earth yielded upon the wasting of the Buried Body, the rest of the story will still naturally import, that it was the very Ghoft of Edward Avon. Besides, himself expresly declares, as that the Body was Buried there, so that by this time it was all turn'd into dust.

But whether it was a ludicross Demon, or Edward Avon's Ghost, concerns not our Scope. It is sufficient, that it is a certain instance of a real Apparition, and I thought sit as in the former story, so here, to be so faithful as to conceal nothing that any might pretend to leffen the credibility thereof. Stories of the appearing of Souls departed are not for the tooth of the Non-Conformists, who, as it is said, if they generally believe this, it must be from the undeniable evidence thereof, nor could Thomas Goddard gratifie them by inventing of it; and that it was not a fancy, the knowledge of the twenty shillings debt imparted to Thomas Goddard, ignorant thereof before, and his Brother Avon's hearing a Voice distinct from his in his discourse with the Apparition, does plainly enough imply. Nor was it Goddard's own fancy, but that real Spectre that opened his shopwindow. Nor his imagination, but something in the shape of an Hare, that made his Horse start, and cast him into the dirt; The Apparition of Avon being then accompanied with that Hare, as after with a Mastiff Dog. And lastly, the whole frame of the story, provided the Relator does verily think

think it true himself (as Mr. S. testisies for him in his Letter to Mr. Glanvil, and himself profest he was ready at any time to swear to it) is such, that it being not a voluntary Invention, cannot be an imposing Fancy.

### RELAT. X.

The Apparition of the Ghost of Major George Sydenham, to Captain William Dyke, taken out of a Letter of Mr. James Douch of Mongton, to Mr. Jos. Glanvil.

Oncerning the Apparition of the Ghost of Major George Sydenham (late of Dulverton in the County of Somerfet) to Captain William Dyke (late of Skilgate in this County also, and now likewise deceased) be pleased to take the Relation of it as I have it from the Worthy and Learned Dr. Tho. Dyke, a near Kinf-·man of the Captain's, thus: Shortly after the Major's Death, the Doctor was defired to come to the House, to take care of a Child that was there fick, and in his way thither he called on the Captain, who was very willing to wait on him to the Place, because he must, as he faid, have gone thither that Night, though he had not met with fo encouraging an Opportunity. After their arrival there at the House, and the Civility of the People shewn them in that Entertainment, they were feafonably conducted to their Lodging, which they defired might be together in the same Bed; Where after they had lain a while, the Captain knockt and bids the Servant bring him two of the largest and bigest Candles lighted that he could get. Whereupon the Doctor enquires what he meant by this? The Captain answers, you know, Cousin, what Disputes my Major and I have had touching the Being of a God, and the Immortality of the Soul. In which Points, we could never yet be refolved, though we fo much fought for, and defired it. And therefore it was at length fully

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greed between us, That he of us that dyed first, should dy a he third Night after his Funeral, between the Hours volun. of Twelve and One, come to the little House that is here in the Garden, and there give a full Account to he Surviver touching these Matters, who should be ure to be present there at the set time, and so receive full Satisfaction. And this, fays the Captain, is the very Night, and I am come on Purpole to fulfil my Promife. The Doctor disswaded him, minding him of the Danger of following those strange Counsels, for which we could have no Warrant, and that the Devil might, by some cunning Device, make such an Advantage of this rash Attempt, as might work his utter The Captain replies, that he had folemnly engaged and that Nothing should discourage him: and adds, That if the Doctor would wake a while with him, he would thank him, if not, he might compose himfelf to his Rest, but for his own Part he was resolved to watch, that he might be fure to be present at the Hour appointed. To that Purpose he sets his Watch by him, and as foon as he perceived by it, that it was half an hour past Eleven, he rises, and taking a Candle in each Hand, goes out by a back Door, of which he had before gotten the Key, and walks to the Garden-house, where he continued two Hours and an half, and at his Return declared that he neither faw nor heard any thing more than what was usual. But I know, faid he, that my Major would furely have come, had he been able.

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About fix Weeks after the Captain rides to Eaton, to place his Son a Scholar there when the Doctor went thither with him. They lodged there at an Inn, the Sign was the Christopher, and tarried two or three Nights, not lying together now as before at Dulverton, but in two feveral Chambers. The Morning before they went thence, The Captain stayed in his Chamber longer than he was wont to do before he called upon the Doctor: At length he comes into the Doctor's Cham-

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ber, but in a Visage and Form much differing from and that himself, with his Hair and Eyes staring, and his whole Body shaking and trembling. Whereat the Doctor painder wondring, presently demanded. What is the Doctor painder wondring, presently demanded, What is the Matter, Cousin Captain? The Captain replies, I have feen m Major. At which the Doctor feeming to smile, the Captain immediately confirms it, faying, if ever! faw him in my Life I faw him but now. And then he related to the Doctor what had passed, thus: This Morning after it was light, some one comes to my Beds fide, and fuddenly drawing back the Curtains, calls Cap. Cap. (which was the Term of Familiarity that the Major used to call the Captain by) to whom I replied, What my Major? to which he returns, I could not come at the Time appointed, but I am now come to tell you, That there is a God, and a very fult and Terrible one, and if You do not turn over a New Leaf (the very Expression as is by the Doctor punctually remembred) You will find it fo. (The Captain proceeded) On the Table by, there lay a Sword, which the Major had formerly given me. Now after the Apparition had walked a Turn or two about the Chamber, he took up the Sword, drew it out, and finding it not fo Clean and Bright as it ought, Cap. Cap. fays he, this Sword did not use to be kept after this Manner, when it was mint. After which Words he suddenly disappeared.

The Captain was not only throughly perswaded of what he had thus feen and heard, but was from that time observed to be very much affected with it. And the Humour that before in him was Brisk and Jovial, was then strangely altered. Infomuch as very little Meat would pass down with him at Dinner, though at the taking Leave of their Friends there was a very handsome Treat provided. Yea, it was observed that what the Captain had thus feen and heard had a more lasting Influence upon him, and it is judged by those who were well acquainted with his Conversation, that the Remembrance of this Passage stuck close to him,

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nd that those Words of his Dead Friend, were freuently sounding Fresh in his Ears, during the Repainder of his Life, which was about two Years.

### Advertisement.

OR a further assurance of the Truth of the Story, it will not be amiss to take notice what Mr. Douch writes n his second Letter to Mr. Glanvil, touching the Charater of the Major and the Captain. They were both, faith be, of my good Acquaintance, Men well bred, and of a brisk Humour and jolly Conversation, of very quick and keen Parts, having also been both of them University and Inns of Court Gentlemen. The Major, I conceive, was about Forty five Years old when he dyed, and I believe the Captain might then be Fifty, or somewhat more. I cannot understand that the Doctor and the Captain had any Discourse concerning the former Engagement to meet, after the Disappointment at that time and place, or whether the Captain had after that any Expectation of the Performance of the Promise which the Major had made him. . Thus far Mr. Douch. And truly one would naturally think, that he failing the solemn Appointed time, the Captain would consequently let go all Hopes and Expectation of his Appearing afterward. Or if he did, that it would be at such a time of the Night as was first determined of, and not at the Morning light. Which Season yet is less obnoxious to the Impostures of Fancy and Melancholy, and therefore adds some Weight to the Assurance of the Truth of the Apparition. I will only add one Clause more out of that Second Letter that makes to the Point. This Story, Saith be, has and doth still obtain Credit from all that knew the Captain, who it feems was not at all shie or scrupulous to relate it to any one that askt him concerning it, tho it was observed he never mentioned it, but with great Terrour and Trepidation. RE-

#### RELAT. XI.

Being a Postscript of the first Letter of Mr. Douch, con cerning the appearing of the Ghost of Sir George Villien Father to the first Duke of Buckingham.

SIR,

Clince the writing of the premisses, a passage concern. Jing an Apparition of Sir George Villiers, giving warning of his Sons (the Duke of Buckingham's) Murder, is come into my Mind, which hath been affured by a Servant of the Duke's to be a great truth. Thus; Some few days before the Duke's going to Portsmonth (where he was stabbed by Felton) the Ghost of his Father, Sir George Villiers, appeared to one Parker (formerly his own Servant, but then Servant to the Duke) in his Morning Chamber Gown; charged Parker to tell his Son, that he should decline that Employment and Defign he was going upon, or else he would certainly be Murdered. Parker promised the Apparition to doit, but neglected it. The Duke making preparations for his Expedition, the Apparition came again to Parker, taxing him very severely for his breach of Promise, and required him not to delay the acquainting his Son of the danger he was in. Then Parker the next day tells the Duke, that his Father's Ghost had twice appeared to him, and had commanded him to give him that warn-The Duke flighted it, and told him, he was an old Doting Fool. That night the Apparition came to Parker a third time, faying, Parker, thou hast done well in warning my Son of his danger, but though he will not yet believe thee, Go to him once more however, and tell him from me by fuch a Token (naming a private Token) which no body knows, but only he and I, that if he will not decline his Voyage, fuch a Knife as this is (pulling a long Knife out from under his Gown) will be his death. This Message Parker also delivered

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ivered the next day to the Duke, who when he heard private Token, believed that he had it from his ther's Ghost; yet said, that his Honour was now at ke, and he could not go back from what he had untaken, come Life, come Death. This passage Parker ter the Duke's murder, communicated to his Fellow roant Henry Ceeley, who told it to a reverend Divine, Neighbour of mine, from whose mouth I have it. his Henry Ceeley has not been dead above twenty ars, and his Habitation, for several years before his eath, was at North-Currey, but three Miles from this ace. My Friend, the Divine aforesaid, was an intiate acquaintance of this Henry Ceeley's, and assure the was a person of known truth and integrity.

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This story I heard (but another name put for Parker) with great assurance, and with larger circumstances, from a Person of Honour, but I shall content my self to note only what I find in a Letter of Mr. Timothy Locket of Mongton, to Mr. Glanvil, That this Apparition to Mr. Parker was all three times towards midnight, when he was reading in some Book, and he mentions, that the Duke's Expedition was for the relief of Rochel. The rest is much what as Mr. Douch has declared. But I will not omit the close of Mr. Locket's Letter. I was confirmed in the truth of the premisses, faith he, by Mr. Henry Ceeley, who was then a Servant with this Mr. Parker, to the Duke, and who told me, that he knew Mr. Parker to be a Religious and sober Person, and that every particular related, was to his kpowledge true.

#### RELAT. XII.

Of the appearing of Mr. Watkinson's Ghost to his Dans ter Toppam, contained in a Letter of Mrs. Taylor the Ford by St. Neots, to Dr. Ezekias Burton.

SIR.

et Rela MY Service to you and your Lady. Now, accome ing to your defire, I shall write what my Coula told me: Her name was Mary Watkinson, her Fathe did live in Smithfield, but she was married to one France Toppam, and she did live in York, with her Husband, be ing an ill one, who did fteal her away against her Parent confent, fo that they could not abide him. But he came often to them, and when the was last with him, upon their parting, she expressed, that she feared in should never see him more. He answered her, if he should dye, if ever God did permit the dead to feether living, he would fee her again. Now after he had been buried about half a year, on a Night, when she was in Bed, but could not fleep, the heard Musick, and the Chamber grew lighter and lighter, and she being broad awake, saw her Father stand at her Bedside: Who said, Mall, did I not tell thee, that I would fee thee once again? She called him Father, and talked of many things; and he bad her be Patient and Dutiful to her Mother. And when she told him that she had a Child since he did dye, he faid, that would not trouble her long. He bad her speak what she would now to him, for he must go, and that he should never see her more till they met in the Kingdom of Heaven. So the Chamber grew darker and darker, and he was gone with Musick. And she said, that she did never dream of him, nor ever did fee any Apparition of him after.

He was a very honest godly Man, as far as I can

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His story G. Rust, who was after Bishop of Dromore, told me, I remember with great assurance, some Twenty rs ago, who was not at all credulous in these things. And was so as Mrs. Taylor relates to Dr. Burton. The st Relation shall be of a Daughter appearing to her Far.

#### RELAT. XIII.

e appearing of the Ghost of the Daughter of Dr. Farrar, to him after her death, according to a brief Narrative sent from Mr. Edward Fowler to Dr. H. More, Anno 1678. May 11.

His Week Mr. Pearson, who is a worthy good Minister of this City of London, told me, That his life's Grandsather, a Man of great Piety, and Physician this present King, his name Farrar, nearly related (I ink Brother) to the Famous Mr. Farrar of Little-Gidn, I say this Gentleman and his Daughter (Mrs. Larson's Mother, a very pious Soul) made a compact his intreaty, that the first of them that died, if happy, ould after death appear to the surviver, if it were possile; the Daughter with some difficulty consenting ereto.

Some time after, the Daughter who lived at Gillingm-Lodge, two Miles from Salisbury, fell in Labour, ad by a mistake, being given a noxious Potion instead f another prepared for her, suddenly died.

Her Father lived in London, and that very Night she ied, she opened his Curtains and looked upon him. He ad before heard nothing of her illness, but upon this pparition considently told his Maid, that his Daughter

was dead, and two days after received the news. H Grandmother told Mrs. Pearson this, as also an Un of hers, and the abovefaid Maid, and this Mrs. Pe fon I know, and she is a very prudent and good W man.

### RELAT. XIV.

The appearing of the Ghost of one Mr. Bower of Guilfor to an Highway-man in Prison, as it is set down in a La ter of Dr. Ezekias Burton to Dr. H. More.

Bout Ten years ago one Mr. Bower an antient Ma I living at Guilford in Surrey, was upon the High way, not far from that place, found newly Murden very barbaroufly, having one great cut crofs his Thron and another down his Breaft. Two Men were fein upon suspicion, and put into Gaol at Guilford, to and ther, who had before been committed for Robbing I suppose. That Night this third Man was awaken about one of the Clock, and greatly terrified with old Man, who had a great gash cross his Throat, alm from Ear to Ear, and a wound down his Breast. Heal came in stooping, and holding his hand on his bad Thus he appeared, but faid nothing. The Thief call to his two new Companions, they grumbled at him, if made no answer.

In the Morning he had retained fo lively an impress en of what he had seen, that he spoke to them to fame purpose again, and they told him it was nothing but his Phantasie. But he was fo fully perswaded of the reality of the Apparition, that he told others of it, and it came to the Ears of my Friend Mr. Reading, Justiced Peace in Surrey, and Cousin to the Gentleman that wa

Murdered.

He immediately fent for the Prisoner, and asked him in the first place, whether he was born, or had live

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out Guilford? To which he answered, No. Secondly, e inquired if he knew any of the Inhabitants of that own, or of the Neighbourhood? He replied, that was a stranger to all thereabout. Then he enquired, he had ever heard of one Mr. Bower? He said, No. ster this he examined him for what cause those two ther Men were Imprisoned? To which he answered,

e knew not, but supposed for some Robbery.

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After these preliminary Interrogatories, he desired im to tell him what he had seen in the Night? Which im to tell him what he had seen in the Night? Which is immediately did, exactly according to the Relation is had heard, and I gave before. And withal described the old Gentleman so by his picked Beard, and that he was, as he called it, rough on his Cheeks, and that the lairs of his Face were black and white, that Mr. Reading with, he himself could not have given a more exact description of Mr. Bower than this was. He told the Highway-man that he must give him his Oath (though that would signific little from such a Rogue) to which the Man readily consented, and took Oath before the Justice of all this.

Mr. Reading being a very discreet Man, concealed this story from the Jury at the Assizes, as knowing that this would be no evidence according to our Law. However the Friends of the Murdered Gentleman had been very inquisitive, and discovered several suspicious circumstances. One of which was, that those two Men had washed their Cloths, and that some stains of blood remained. Another, that one of them had denied he ever heard that Mr. Bower was dead, when as he had in another place confest it two hours before. Upon these and such like Evidences, those two were Condemned and Executed, but denied it to the last. But one of them said, the other could clear him if he would, which the By-standersunderstood not.

After some time a Tinker was hanged (where, the Gentleman has forgot) who at his death said, that the Murder of Mr. Bower of Guilford was his greatest trouble.

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For he had a hand in it; he confesseth he struck him blow on the back which fetcht him from his Horse, a when he was down, those other Men that were Arraiged and Executed for it, cut his Throat, and risled him This is the first story which I had from Mr. Reading him felf, who is a very honest prudent person, and not condulous.

I know you defire to have the Names of all the perfons referred to in this Relation, and the exact time and place, but Mr. Reading cannot recollect them now though he tells me he fent an exact and full Narrative of all to one Mr. Onflow, a Justice of Peace in the Neighbourhood, with whom I have some acquaintance, and I will endeavour to retrieve it.

# Advertisement.

THE Names of all the Persons, and exact time and place of all the actions, I find not among it Mr. Glanvil's Papers, but the story is so perfect as it is, and so credible, that I thought it worthy of a place among it in rest. And this appearing of Mr. Bower, is just such another thing as the appearing of Anne Walker. We proceed to the second story which Mr. Reading imparted to the Doctor.

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### RELAT. XV.

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Inother appearing of a Ghost of a Man of Guilford, for the recovery of a Field for his Child, unjustly detained by his Brother, out of the abovesaid Letter of Dr. Ezekias Burton to Dr. H. More.

N Inhabitant of the before-named Town of Guilford, who was possest of some Copyhold Land, which was to descend to his Children, or in default of such lifue to his Brother, dies, having no Child born. And his Wife apprehending her felf not to be with Child (which her Husband's Brother asked her immediately after his Brother's death) she told him she believed he was not, but afterward proved to be. Which when the knew, the went, by the instigation of Neighbours, to her Brother, and told him how it was with her. He rated her, called her Whore, and told her, that she had procured some body to get her with Child, knowing that fuch a Field must be inherited by the Posterity of her Husband, but her Whoring should not fool him out of that Estate. The poor Woman went home troubled, that not only her Chi'd should ofe the Land, but which was worfe, that she should be thought a Whore. However she quiered her felf, and resolved to sit down with the loss.

When her time came, she was delivered of a Son he grew up, and one Summers Night, as she was undressing him in her Yard, her Husband appeared, and bid her go to his Brother and demand the Field. Which she did, but was treated very ill by him. He told her, that neither she nor her Devil (for she had told him her Husband appeared, and bid her speak to him) should make him forego his Land. Whereupon she went home again. But some time after, as her Brother was going out of this Field homeward, the dead Man appears to him at the stile, and bids him give up the Land to the Child, for

it was his right. The Brother being greatly frights at this, runs away, and not long after comes to her at tells her, she had sent the Devil to him, and bids he take the Land, and so gave it up, and her Son is no possest of it. His Name is Mat. he lived in the so vice of Mr. Reading's Brother for some years, but has forgot his Sir-name, though he knows him ver well.

# Advertisement.

Hough the Sir-name of the Party be wanting, yeth is determinated so by other Circumstances, and the Story so fresh, and told by so credible a Person, that the Narrative is sufficiently considerable, as it is; But of Recovery of Land to the right Owners, the Story of Min. Bretton's Ghost appearing, is an eximious Example, which is as follows.

### RELAT. XVI.

The appearing of the Ghost of Mrs. Bretton, for the Recovery of some Lands into the Hands of the Poor, taken from them by some Mistake in Law or Right, as it is in a Narrative sent to Dr. H. More from Mr. Edward Fowler Prebendary of Glocester.

DR. Bretton late Rector of Ludgate and Deptford, lived formerly in Herefordshire, and Married the Daughter of Dr. S--- This Gentlewoman was a Perfon of extraordinary Piety, which she expressed as in her Life, so at her Death. She had a Maid, that she had a great kindness for, who was married to a near Neighbour, whose Name, as I remember, was Alice. Not long after her Death, as Alice was rocking her Infant

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fant in the Night, she was called from the Cradle by knocking at her Door, which opening, she was surrized at the sight of a Gentlewoman, not to be dinguished from her late Mistress, neither in Person or tabit. She was in a Morning-Gown, the same in appearance with that she had often seen her Mistress rear. At first sight she expressed very great amazement, and said, Were not my Mistress dead, I should not uestion but that you are she. She replied I am he same that was your Mistress, and took her by the and. Which Alice affirmed was as cold as a Clod.

She added, That the had Bufiness of great Imporance to imploy her in, and that she must immediately o a little way with her. Alice trembled and befeecht er to excuse her, and intreated her very importunately o go to her Master, who must needs be more fit to be mployed. She answered, that he who was her Husband, was not at all concerned, but yet she had a Deire rather to make use of him, and in order thereunto had several times been in his Chamber, but he was still effeep, nor had she power to do more than once uncover his Feet towards the awakening of him. the Doctor faid, that he had heard walking in his Chamber in the Night, which, till now, he could give no Account of. Alice next objected that her Husband was gone a Journey, and she had no one to look to her Child, that it was very apt to cry vehemently, and she feared if it awaked before her Return, it would cry it self to death, or do it self Mischief. The Spectre replied, The Child shall sleep till you return.

Alice seeing there was no avoiding it, forely against her will, sollowed her over a style into a large Field, who then said to her, observe how much of this Field I measure with my Feet. And when she had taken a good large and leisurely Compass, she said, all this belongs to the Poor, it being gotten from them by wrongful means, and charged her to go and tell her Brother, whose it was at that time, that he should

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give

give it up to the Poor again forthwith, as he loved her and his deceased Mother. This Brother was not the Person who did this unjust act, but his Father. She added, that she was the more concerned, because her Name was made use of in some Writing that related to this Land.

Alice askt her how she should satisfie her Brother that this was no Cheat, or Delusion of her Fancy. She replied, tell him this Secret, which he knows that only himself and I are privy to, and he will believe you. Alia having promised her to go on this Errand, she proceeded to give her good Advice, and entertained her all the rest of the Night, with most heavenly and divine Discourse. When the Twilight appeared they heard the whistling of Carters, and the noise of Horse Bells. Whereupon the Spectre faid, Alice, I must be feen by none but your felf, and so she disappeared.

Immediately Alice makes all haste home, being thoughtful for her Child, but found it as the Spectre had faid, afleep as she left it. When she had dressed it, and committed it to the care of a Neighbour, away she went to her Master the Doctor, who amazed at the account the gave him, fent her to his Brother-in-Law. He at first hearing Alice's Story and Message, laughed at it heartily. But she had no sooner told him the secret, but he changed his countenance, told her he would give the Poor their own, and accordingly he did it, and they now enjoy it.

This with more circumstances hath several times been related by Dr. Britton himself, who was well known to be a person of great goodness and sincerity. He gave a large Narrative of this Apparition of his Wife to two of my Friends. First, to one Mrs. Needham, and afterwards, a little before his Death to Dr. Whichcot.

Some years after I received the foregoing Narrative (viz. near four years fince) I light into the Company of three fober persons of good Rank, who all lived in the City of Hereford, and I travelled in a Stage-Coach

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three days with them. To them I happened to tell this story, but told it was done at Deptford, for fo I prefumed it was, because I knew that there Dr. Bretton lived. They told me as foon as I had concluded it, that the ftory was very true in the main, only I was out as to the place. For 'twas not Deptford, but as I remember they told me Pembridge near Hereford, where the Doctor was Minister before the Return of the King. And they assured me upon their own knowledge, that to that day the Poor enjoyed the piece of Ground. They added. That Mrs. Bretton's Father could never endure to hear any thing mentioned of his Daughters appearing after her death, but would still reply in great anger, that it was not his Daughter, but it was the Devil. So that he acknowledged that something appeared in the likeness of his Daughter.

This is attested by me this 16th of Febr. 168:

Edward Fowler:

#### RELAT. XVII.

Of a Dutch Man that could see Ghosts, and of the Ghost he saw in the Town of Woodbridge in Suffolk.

M. Broom the Minister of Woodbridge in Suffolk, meeting one day, in a Barber's Shop in that Town, a Dutch Lieutenant (who was blown up with Opdam, and taken alive out of the Water, and carried to that Town, where he was a Prisoner at large) upon the occasion of some discourse was told by him, that he could see Ghosts, and that he had seen divers. Mr. Broom rebuking him for talking so idly, he persisted in it very stiffy. Some days after lighting upon him again, he askt him whether he had seen any Ghost since his Dd 3 coming

coming to that Town. To which he replyed, No.

But not long after this, as they were walking toge. ther up the Town, he faid to Mr. Broom, Yonder comes a Ghost. He seeing nothing, askt him whereabout it was? The other faid, it is over against such a House. and it walks looking upwards towards fuch aifide, fling. ing one Arm with a Glove in its hand. He faid moreover, that when it came near them, they must give way to it. That he ever did fo, and some that have not done fo, have suffered for it. Anon he faid, 'Tis just upon us, let's out of the way. Mr. Broom believing all to be a Fiction, as foon as he faid those words, took hold of his Arm, and kept him by force in the way. But as he held him, there came fuch a force against them, that he was flung into the middle of the street, and one of the Palms of his hands, and one Knee bruifed and broken by the fall, which put him for a while to excessive pain.

But spying the Lieutenant lye like a dead Man, he got up as soon as he could, and applied himself to his relief. With the help of others he got him into the next Shop, where they poured strong-water down his Throat, but for some time could discern no Life in him. At length, what with the Strong-water, and what with well chasing him he began to stir, and when he was come to himself, his first words were, I will shew you no more Ghosts. Then he desired a Pipe of Tobacco, but Mr. Broom told him, he should take it at his House; for he feared, should he take it so soon there,

it would make him fick.

Thereupon they went together to Mr. Broom's House, where they were no sooner entring in, but the Bell rang out. Mr. Broom presently sent his Maid to learn who was dead She brought word that it was such an One, a Taylor, who dyed suddenly, though he had been in a Consumption a long time. And inquiring after the time of his death, they sound it was as punctually as it could be guessed at the very time when the Ghost appeared.

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## Advertisement.

This Relation was sent to Dr. H. More from Mr. Edw. Fowler; at the End whereof he writes, that Dr. Burton as well as himself, heard it from Mr. Broom's own mouth. And I can add, that I also afterwards heard it from his own mouth at London.

#### RELAT. XVIII.

An Irish Story of one that had like to have been carried away by Spirits, and of the Ghost of a Man who had been seven Years dead, that brought a Medicine to the above said Party's Bed-side.

Gentleman in Ireland near to the Earl of Orory's, fending his Butler one afternoon to buy Cards; as he passed a Field, he, to his wonder, espyed a Company of People, fitting round a Table, with a deal of good Chear before them, in the midst of the Field. And he going up towards them, they all arose and saluted him, and defired him to fit down with them. But one of them whispering these words in his Ear; Do nothing this Company invites you to. He thereupon refused to sit down at the Table, and immediately Table and all that belonged to it were gone. And the Company are now dancing and playing upon Musical Instruments. And the Butler being desired to join himself to them, but he refusing this also, they fall all to work, and he not being to be prevailed with to accompany them in-Working. Dd 4

Working, any more than in Feasting or Dancing, they all disappeared, and the Butler is now alone. But instead of going forwards, home he returns as fast a he could drive, in a great consternation of Mind. And was no sooner entered his Master's door, but down he falls, and lay some time sensiles, but coming to himself again, he related to his Master what had happened to him.

The night following, there comes one of this Com. pany to his Bed-side, and tells him, that if he offered to fir out of doors the next day, he would be carried away. Hereupon he kept within, but towards the Evening, having need to make water, he adventured to put one Foot over the Threshold, several standing Which he had no fooner done, but they espyed a Rope cast about his middle, and the Poor Man was hurried away with great Swiftness, they following after him as fast as they could, but could not overtake him. At length they espyed a Horseman coming towards them, and made figns to him to stop the Man, whom he faw coming near him, and both ends of the Rope, but no body drawing. When they met, he laid hold on one end of the Rope, and immediately had a smart Blow given him over his Arm with the other End. But by this means the Man was stopt, and the Horseman brought him back with him.

The Earl of Orary hearing of these strange Passages, sent to the Master to desire him to send this Man to his House, which he accordingly did. And the Morning sollowing, or quickly after, he told the Earl that his Spectre had been with him again, and assured him that that day he should most certainly be carried away, and that no Endeavours should avail to the saving of him. Upon this he was kept in a large Room, with a considerable number of Persons to guard him, among whom was the samous Stroker, Mr. Greatrix, who was a Neighbour, There were besides other Persons of Quality, two Bishops in the House at the same time, who

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Till part of the Afternoon was spent all was quiet, at at length he was perceived to rife from the Ground, nereupon Mr. Greatrix and another lufty Man clapt heir Arms over his Shoulders, one of them before im, and the other behind, and weighed him down ith all their strength. But he was forcibly taken up rom them, and they were too weak to keep their old, and for a considerable time he was carried in the Air to and fro over their Heads, several of the Company still running under him to prevent his being hurt f he should fall. At length he fell, and was caught beore he came to Ground, and had by that Means no hurt.

All being quiet till Bed-time, My Lord ordered two of his Servants to lie with him, and the next Morning he told his Lordship, that his Spectre was again with him, and brought a Wooden Dish with grey Liquor in it, and bad him drink it off. At the first fight of the Spectre, he said he endeavoured to awake his Bedsellows, but it told him that that Endeavour should be in vain, and that he had no Cause to fear him, he being his Friend, and he that at first gave him the good Advice in the Field, which had he not followed, he had been, before now, perfectly in the Power of the Company he faw there. He added, that he concluded it was impossible, but that he should have been carried away the day before, there being so strong a Combination against him. But now he would assure him that there would be no more attempts of that nature, but he being troubled with two forts of fad Fits, he had brought that liquor to cure him of them, and bad him drink it. He peremptorily refusing, the Spectre was angry, upbraided him with great dingenuity, but told him, that however he had a kindness for him, and that if he would take Plantain juice he should be well of One fort of Fits, but he should carry the other to he Grave. The poor Man having by this time somewhat recovered himself, ask't the Spectre, whether by the juice of Plantain he meant that of the Leaves or Roots'

Mr replied, the Roots.

Then it askt him, whether he did not know him? He answered, No. He replied, I am such a one? The Man answered: He hath been long dead. I have been dead said the Spectre or Chost, seven years, and you know that I lived a loose life. And ever since have I been hurried up and down in a restless Condition with the Company you saw, and shall be to the day of Judgment, Then he proceded to tell him, that had he acknowledged God in his ways, he had not suffered such sever things by their means. And further said, you never prayed to God that day before you met with this Company in the Field, and also was then going about an unlawful business, and so vanisht.

# Advertisement.

This story was also sent from Mr. E. Fowler to Dr. H. More, concerning which he further adds, by way of Postscript, that Mr. Greatrix told this story to Mrs. Foxcraft at Ragley, and at her request he told it a second time in her hearing at the Table. My Lady Roydon being then present, inquired afterwards concerning it of my Lord Otory, who confirmed the truth of it, acknowledging all the circumstances of this Narrative to my Lady Roydon to be true, except that passage, That the Spectre told the Man that he was that day going about an unlawful business. And Mr. Fowler further adds, that since an eminent Doctor in this City told me, that my Lord told him, that he saw at his own House a Man taken up into the Air.

Lastly, I find Dr. H. More in a Letter to Mr. Glanvil, affirming, that he also heard Mr. Greatrix tell the story at

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Lord Conway's at Ragley, and that he particularly inured of Mr. Greatrix about the mans being carried up to the Air above mens heads in the Room, and that he did presly affirm that he was an Eye-witness thereof.

#### RELAT. XIX.

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he miraculous Cure of Jesch Claes a Dutch Woman of Amsterdam, accompanied with an Apparition.

THE Narrative taken by a Dutch Merchant from her own Mouth, begins thus. A miraculous Cure pon fesch Claes, a Woman about fifty years of Age: for this many years well known to my felf and the Neighbours. This Woman for fourteen years had been ame of both Legs, one of them being dead and without feeling, so that she could not go but creep upon the ground, or was carried in Peoples Arms as a Child, but now through the power of God Almighty she hath walked again. Which came to pass after this manner, as I have taken it from her own Mouth.

In the year 1676. about the 13th or 14th of this Month October, in the Night, between one and two of the Clock, this Jesch Claes being in Bed with her Husband, who was a Boatman, she was three times pulled by her Arm, with which she awaked and cryed out, O Lord! What may this be? Hereupon she heard an anfwer in plain words: Be not afraid, I come in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Your malady, which hath for many years been upon you, shall cease, and it shall be given you from God Almighty to walk again. But keep this to your felf till further answer. Whereupon the cried aloud, O Lord! That I had a light, that I might know what this is. Then had she this answer, There needs no light, the light shall be given you from God. Then came light all over the Room, and the faw a beautiful Youth, about ten years of Age, with Curled Yellow

Yellow Hair Clothed in White to the Feet, who we from the Beds-head to the Chimney with a light, white a little after vanished. Hereupon did there shoot some thing, or gush from her Hip, or diffuse it self througher Leg as a Water into her great Toe, where she diffind life rising up, felt it with her hand, crying on Lord, give me now again my feeling which I have no had in so many years. And further she continued to had in so many years. And further she continued to her weat measure.

Yet the continued that day Wednesday, and the next day Thursday, as before till Evening at fix a Clock. A which time the fate at the Fire dreffing the food. The came as like a rushing noise in both her Ears, with which it was faid to her Stand. Your going is given you again. Then did she immediately stand up that had so many years crept, and went to the door. Her Husband meeting her, being exceedingly afraid, drew back. In the mean while the cryed out, My dear Husband, I cango The Man thinking it was a Spirit, drew back, faying, You are not my Wife. His Wife taking hold of him, said, My dear Husband, I am the self same that hath been Married these Thirty years to you. mighty God hath given my going again. But her Hulband being amazed, drew back to the fide of the Room, till at last she claspt her Hand about his Neck, and yet he doubted, and faid to his Daughter, is this your Mother? She answered, yes, Father, this we plainly see. I had seen her go also before you came in. This Person dwells upon Princes Island in Amsterdam.

# Advertisement.

This account was sent from a Dutch Merchant, procured by a Friend for Dr. R. Cudworth, and contains the main Particulars that occur in the Dutch Printed Narrative.

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tive, which Monsieur Van Helmont brought over with n to my Lady Conway at Ragley, who, having inquired on the Spot when he was there at Amsterdam, though of Genius not at all credulous of such Relations, found the ing to be really true. As also Philippus Limbergius in Letter to Dr. H. More, sent this Testimony touching the rty cured, That she was always reputed a very honest good soman, and that he believed there was no fraud at all in the business.

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#### RELAT. XX.

In House haunted some Thirty years ago, or more, at or near Bow, not far from London, and strangely disturbed by Dæmons and Witches.

A Certain Gentleman about Thirty years ago, or more, being to Travel from London into Essex, and to pass through Bow, at the request of a Friend he called at a House there, which began then to be a little disquieted. But not any thing much remarkable yet, unless of a young Girl, who was pluckt by the Thigh by a cold Hand in her Bed, who died within a fews days after.

Some Weeks after this, his occasions calling him back, he passed by the same House again, but had no design to give them a new visit, he having done that not long before. But it happening that the Woman of the House stood at the door, he thought himself engaged to ride to her and ask how she did? To whom she answered with a forrowful Countenance; That though she was in tolerable health, yet things went very ill with them, their House being extreamly haunted, especially above stairs, so that they were forced to keep in the low Rooms, there was such slinging of things up and down, of Stones and Bricks through the Windows, and putting all in disorder. But he could scarce forbear laughing at

her, giving so little credit to such stories himself, as thought it was the tricks only of some unhappy Was to make sport to themselves and trouble to their Neighbours.

Well favs the, if you will but ftay a while you ma chance to fee fomething with your own Eyes. And in deed he had not stayed any confiderable time with he in the Street, but a Window of an upper Room open of it felf (for they of the Family took it for granted a body was above stairs) and out comes a piece of an old Wheel through it. Whereupon it presently clapt to again. A little while after it fuddenly flew open again. and out come a Brick-bat, which inflamed the Gentle man with a more eager defire to fee what the matter was, and to discover the Knavery. And therefore he boldly resolved, if any one would go up with him, h would into the Chamber. But none present durst accompany him. Yet the keen desire of discovering the Cheat, made him adventure by himfelf alone into that Room Into which when he was come, he faw the Bedding Chairs and Stools, and Candlesticks, and Bedstaves, and all the Furniture rudely scattered on the Floor, but up on fearch found no mortal in the Room.

Well! he stays there a while to try conclusions, anon a Bedstaff begins to move, and turn it self round a good while together upon its Toe, and at last fairly to lay it self down again. The curious Spectator, when he had observed it to lie still a while, steps out to it, views it whether any small String or Hair were tied to it, or whether there were any hole or button to fasten any such String to, or any hole or string in the Ceiling above; but after search, he found not the least suspicion of any

fuch thing.

He retires to the Window again, and observes a little longer what may fall out. Anon, another Bedstaff rises off from the ground of its own accord, higher into the air, and seems to make towards him. He now begins to think there was something more than ordinary in the business.

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finels, and prefently makes to the door with all fpeed. d for better caution shuts it after him. Which was efently opened again, and fuch a clatter of Chairs, and ools, and Candlesticks, and Bedstaves, sent after him wn Stairs, as if they intended to have maimed him. their motion was so moderated, that he received no erm; but by this time he was abundantly affured, that was not meer Womanish fear or superstition that so frighted the Mistress of the House. w Room he was talking with the Family about thefe ings, he saw a Tobacco-Pipe rise from a side-Table, body being nigh, and fly to the other fide of the oom, and break it felf against the Wall for his further onfirmation, that it was neither the tricks of Waggs, or the fancy of a Woman, but the mad frolicks of Vitches and Dæmons. Which they of the House being illy perswaded of, roasted a Bedstaff, upon which an old Woman, a suspected Witch, came to the House, nd was apprehended, but escaped the Law. But the louse after was so ill haunted in all the Rooms, upper nd lower, that the House stood empty for a long time fter.

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# Advertisement.

This Story is found amongst Mr. Glanvil's Papers, written to him from Dr. H. More, who says, some oree Months before, he had received it from the parties on mouth, that was at the haunted House in Bow, and we the motion of the Bedstaves and Tobacco-pipe, &c. And very well remember, that about Thirty or Forty years ago, here was a great fame of an house haunted at Bow, and web like feats as this Spectator saw, was rumoured of it, and the time agrees with that of this Spectator or Eye-wetness the above-recited Feats. And a Book was then said to be rinted, though I never saw any but one of late without any

date of the year, the things then being in Fierl, who was Printed. And they seem to refer to the same haum place, though the Pamphlet names Plaisto for Bow. I whether Bow was talked of instead of Plaisto, it being place near, and of more note, I know not. And Paul a Weaver, was the Man whose House was haunted in Plais

according to that Pamphlet.

If the Gentleman that so well remembers the strangething he saw, had not forgot the Man's name whose House's haunted (and the strangeness of those things would fix thin selves in his memory, even whether he would or no, when name of the Master of the House might easily, in Thirty Forty years time slide out of it) we might be sure whether were Plaisto or Bow. But I am sure the same went of Bouthough the Pamphlet name Plaisto, and that might make abovesaid Party, who told Dr. More the Story, six the Scene without all scruple in Bow.

But methinks I hear the Reader complain, that it was great Omission in Mr. Glanvil, that he did not inquire Dr. More who this party was that told him the Story, seeming an headless piece without that part. Wherefore find in a Paper (whose Title is Doctor More's Particular about the Stories) these words in answer to Mr. Glanvi That it is Dr. Gibbs, a Prebendary of Westminster, as sober intelligent person. And some dozen lines after, In More says, Dr. Gibbs told the Story to my self, and the Dr. Outram, who brought me to him. And I have toldy already, that he is a person of understanding and integral He has also some Sermons in Print as I take it.

But for a smuch as it was about three months after Di More had received this account of the Story from Dr. Gibbs that he wrote to Mr. Glanvil, it is not to be expected the he related it in the very same words, and in every punching as he heard it. But I dare undertake for him, that for the main, and that which makes to the evincing of Witchcraft, and the ludicrous feats of Damons, that he hath committee no errour therein, nor set down any thing whose substant

was not related to him by the Reverend Dr. Gibbs.

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### RELAT. XXI.

Ir. Jermin's story of an House haunted, and what disturbance himself was a Witness of there, at a visit of his Wise's Sister.

NE Mr. Jermin, Minister of Bigner in Suffex, going to see a Sister of his Wise's, found her very lelancholy, and asking her the reason, she replyed, ou shall know to Morrow Morning. When he went bed, there were two Maids accompanied him in his shamber, and the next day he understood that they durst

ot go into any Room in the House alone.

In the Night, while he was in his Bed, he heard the rampling of many Feet upon the Leads over his head, and after that, the going off of a Gun, upon which followed a great filence. Then they came fwiftly down Stairs ato his Chamber, where they fell a wreftling and tumling each other down, and so continued a great while. After they were quiet, they fell a whispering, and made great buzz, of which he could understand nothing. Then one called at the door, and said, Day is broke, ome away. Upon which they ran up Stairs as fast as hey could drive, and so heard no more of them.

In the Morning his Brother and Silter came in to him, and she said, Now, Brother, you know why I am so Meancholy, after she had askt him how he had slept, and he had answered, I never rested worse in my life, having been disturbed a great part of the night with tumblings and noises. She complained that her Husband would force her to live there, notwithstanding their peing continually scared. Whereto the Husband anwered, Their Disturbers never did them any other

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Dr

At Dinner they had a Physician with them, who was macquaintance. Mr. Jermin discoursing about this diturbance, the Physician also answered, that never any E e

hurt was done, of which he gave this instance: The old m Dining there one day, there came a Man on Horseban rincip into the Yard in Mourning. His Servant went to know what was his business, and found him sitting very Me lancholy, nor could he get any answer from him. The Master of the House and the Physician went forth to se who it was. Upon which the Man clapt Spurs to hi Horse, and rode into the House up Stairs into a lon Gallery, whither the Physician followed him, and sa him vanish in a Fire at the upper end of the Gallen But though none of the Family receiv'd hurt at an time, yet Mr. Jermin fell into a Fever with the diffu bance he experienced, that endangered his Life.

### Advertisement.

AR. Scot and his Wife heard this Narrative from Mr. Jermin's own mouth. And I also have hear it from Mr. Scot, who is a Minister of London, and the Author of a late excellent good Treatife, which is entitled The Christian Life, &c.

### RELAT. XXII.

Contained in a Letter of Mr. G. Clarke, to Mr. M. T. touching a House haunted in Welton near Daventry.

SIR.

Send you here a Relation of a very memorable piece I of Witchcraft, as I suppose, which would fit Mr. More gallantly. I first heard the story related to Sir Ju rience. Sir Justinian would have had me gone to the led stinian Isham, by a Reverend Minister, of his own expe place, which I could not then do. But a little after going to vifit a Friend, and not thinking of this, my Friend told

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The old me the story, the place being near him, and the rincipal Man concerned in the story, being a Relation f his, and one that I my felf had some acquaintance ith. He had occasion to go to this Man's House for me Deeds of Land, and I went with him for satisfatofe tion touching this ftory, which I had to the full, and which I could not but acquiesce, though otherwise I m very chary, and hard enough to believe pallages of his nature.

llen The Story is this, At Welton within a Mile of Davenitan ry in Northamptonshire, where live together Widow istur Sowley, the Grandmother, Widow Stiff the Mother, and er two Daughters. At the next House but one lives nother Widow Cowley, Sifter to the former Widow Cowley, Moses Cowley my acquaintance her Son, and Moses is Wife, having a good Estate in Land of their own, nd very civil and orderly people. These three told ne, that the younger of the two Daughters, ten years fage, vomited in less than three days, three Gallons of Water to their great Admiration. After this the eldthe der Wench comes running, and tells them, that now the her Sister begins to vomit Stones and Coals. They went and were Eye-witnesses, told them till they came to Five hundred. Some weighed a quarter of a pound, and were fo big, as they had enough to do to get them out of her mouth, and he professed to me, that he could carce get the like into his mouth, and I do not know now any one should, if they were so big as he shewed the like to me. I have fent you one, but not a quarter lo big as some of them were. It was one of the biggest of them that were left and kept in a Bag. This Vomiring lasted about a Fortnight, and hath Witnesses Mr. good store.

In the mean time they threw hards of Flax upon the per fire, which would not blaze though blown, but dwind-the led away. The Bed-cloths would be thrown off the Bed. Moses Cowley told me, that he laid them on again several times, they all coming out of the Room, and go but

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into the Parlour again, and they were off again. And strike of Wheat standing at the Beds feet, set it how they would, it would be thrown down again. Once the Coffers and things were fo transposed, as they could scarce stir about the Room. Once he laid the Bille upon the Bed, but the Cloths were thrown off again and the Bible hid in another Bed. And when they were all gone into the Parlour, as they used to go together. then things would be transposed in the Hall, their Whee taken in pieces, and part of it thrown under the Table In their Buttery their Milk would be taken off the Table and fet on the ground, and once one Panchion was bro ken, and the Milk spilt. A seven pound weight, with a Ring, was hung upon the Spigot, and the Beer ming. led with Sand, and all spoiled, their Salt mingled mol

perfectly with Bran.

Mofes his Mother faid that their Flax was thrown on of a Box, the put it in again, it was thrown out a gain; she put it in again, and lockt the Box, trying by the Hasp or Lid (as they use to do) whether it was fast; it was fo. But as foon as her back was turned the Box was unlocked, and the Flax was thrown ou again. Moses said, that when he was coming out of the Parlour, he saw a Loaf of Bread tumbling off the Form, and that was the first thing he faw. After, a Womans Patten rose up in the House, and was thrown at them He heard the Comb break in the Window, and prefently it flew at them in two pieces. A Knife rose up in the Window, and flew at a Man, hitting him with the Hall. An Ink-glass was thrown out of the Window into the Floor, and by and by the stopple came after it. Then every day abundance of Stones were thrown about the House which broke the Windows, and hat the People, but they were the less troubled, because all this while no hurt was done to their Persons, and a great many People being in the Room, the Wheat was thrown 2bout amongst them.

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where still broken, and the People themselves shewed me where the several particulars were done. The Grand-nother told me, that she thought she had lost half a trike of Wheat, and the like happened to some Fitches in the Barn. One Mr. Robert Clark, a Gentleman, being hat with the Stones, bad the Baker at the Door look to his Bread well, and by and by a handful of crums were thrown into his Lap. They could see the things as

hey came, but no more.

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At last some that had been long suspected for Witches were Examined, and one fent to the Gaol, where it is aid the plays her pranks, but that is of doubtful credit. asked the Old Woman whether they were free now. he faid, that one Night fince, they heard great knockngs, and cruel noise, which scared them worse than all he rest, and once or twice that Week, her Cheese was rumbled into pieces, and spoiled. I was there about May-day, 1658. This is all that I remember at prefent. have heard feveral other stories, and two or three noable ones lately from Mens own Experience, which in eason I was to believe as I did. But in my Judgment his outgoes all that I know of, it having so much of lense, and of the day time, so many and so credible Witresses beyond all cavil and exception. I will trouble you no further, but commending you to the protection of God Almighty, I take my leave and rest

Yours,

Loddington, May 22th 1658.

G. Clark.

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### RELAT. XXIII.

The Relation of James Sherring, taken concerning the man ter at Old Gast's House of little Burton, June 23. 1677, as follows.

THE first Night that I was there with Hugh Mel. more and Edward Smith, they heard as it werethe washing in water over their heads. Then taking a Candle and going up the Stairs, there was a wet Cloth thrown at them, but it fell on the Stairs. They going up farther then, there was another thrown as before. And when they came up into the Chamber, there stood a bowl of Water, some of it sprinkled over, and the Water look ed white as if there had been Sope used in it. The Bowl just before was in the Kitchin, and could not be carried up but through the Room where they were. The next thing that they heard the same Night, was a temble noise as if it had been a flat of Thunder, and shortly after they heard great scratching about the Bedsted, and after that a great knocking with a Hammer against the Beds-Head, so that the two Maids that were in the Bed cryed out for help. Then they ran up the Stairs, and there lay the Hammer on the Bed, and on the Beds-head there were near a thousand prints of the Hammer which the violent strokes had made. The Maids said, that they were scratched and pinched with a hand that was put into the Bed which had exceeding long Nails. The faid that the Hammer was lockt up fast in the Capboard when they went to Bed. This was that which was done the first Night, with many other things of the like nature.

The fecond Night that James Sherring and Tho. Hillary were there, James Sherring fat down in the Chimney to fill a Pipe of Tobacco. He made use of the Fire-Tongs to take up a Coal to fire his Pipe, and by and by the Tongs were drawn up the Stairs, and after they

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vere up in the Chamber, they were played withal as nany times Men do, and then thrown down upon the ed. Although the Tongs were so near him, he never erceived the going of them away. The same Night one f the Maids left her Shoes by the Fire, and they were arried up into the Chamber, and the Old Man's brought lown and fet in their places. The fame Night there was a Knife carried up into the Chamber, and it did cratch and scrape the Beds-head all the Night, but when they went up into the Chamber, the Knife was brown into the Loft. As they were going up the Stairs, here were things thrown at them, which were just before in the low Room, and when they went down the stairs, the Old Man's Breeches were thrown downlafter them. These were the most remarkable things done that Night, only there was continual knocking and pinching the Maids, which was usually done every Night.

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The third Night, when James Sherring and Thomas Hillary were there, as foon as the People were gone to Bed, their Cloths were taken and thrown at the Candle. and put it out, and immediately after they cried out with a very hideous cry and faid, they should be all choaked if they were not presently helped. Then they ran up the Stairs and there were abundance of Feathers plucked out of the Bolster that lay under their Heads, and some thrust into their Mouths that they were almost choaked. The Feathers were thrown all about the Bed and Room. They were plucked out at a hole no bigger than the top of ones little Finger. Some time after they were vexed with a very hideous knocking at their heads as they lay on the Bed. Then James Sherring and Thomas Hillary took the Candle and went up Stairs, and stood at the Beds Feet, and the knocking continued. Then they faw a Hand with an Arm-wrift hold the Hammer which kept on knocking against the Bedsted. Then James Sherring going towards the Beds-head, the Hand and Hammer fell down behind the Bolfter and could not be

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found. For they turned up the Bed-cloths to fearch for the Hammer. But as foon as they went down the Stairs the Hammer was thrown out into the middle of the Chamber. These were the most remarkable things that were done that Night.

The fourth and fifth Nights, there was but little done more than knocking and scratching as was usually.

The fixth and feventh Nights, there was nothing at all but as quiet as at other Houses. These were all the Nights that they were there.

The things that do follow are what James Sherring

heard the People of the House report.

There was a Saddle in the House of their Uncle Warren's of Leigh, (which it should seem they detained wrongfully from the right Owner) that, as it did hang upon a Pin in the Entry, would come off and come into the House, and as they termed it, hop about the House from one place to another, and upon the Table, and fo to another, which stood on the other side of the House. Jane Gast and her Kinswoman, took this Saddle and carried it to Leigh, and as they were going along in the broad Common, there would be Sticks and Stones thrown at them, which made them very much afraid, and going near together, their Whittles which were on their Shoulders were knit together. They carried the Saddle to the House which was Old Warren's, and there left it, and returned home very quiet. But being gone to Bed at Night, the Saddle was brought back from Leigh, (which is a Mile and a half at least from Old Gaft's House) and thrown upon the Bed where the Maids lay. After that, the Saddle was very troublesome to them, until they broke it in small pieces and threw it out into the Highway.

There was a Coat of the same Parties, who was Owner of the Saddle, which did hang on the Door in the Hall, and it came off from the place and flew into the fire, and lay some considerable time, before they could get it out. For it was as much as three of them

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could do to pluck it out of the fire, because of the ponderous weight that lay on it, as they thought. Nevertheless there was no impression on it of the fire.

Old Gaft fat at Dinner with a Hat of this old Warren's on his Head, and there was something came and struck it

off into the Dish where his Meat was.

There was a Pole which stood in the backside, about 14 or 15 foot in length, which was brought into the House, and carried up into the Chamber, and thrown on the Bed; but all the Wit they had could not get it out of the Chamber, because of its length, until they took down a light of the Window. They report, that the things in the House were thrown about and broken, to

their great damage.

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One night there were two of this old Gast his Grand-daughters in Bed together, they were aged, one of them about twelve or thirteen years, and the other about sixteen or seventeen. They said, that they felt a hand in Bed with them, which they bound up in the Sheet, and took Bedstaves and beat it until it was as soft as Wooll, then they took a stone which lay in the Chamber, about a quarter of an hundred weight, and put on it, and were quiet all the Night. In the Morning they sound it as they lest it the night before. Then the eldest of the Maids sware that she would burn the Devil, and goes and fetches a Fuz Faggot to burn it, but when she came again, the Stone was thrown away, and the Cloth was found wet.

There were many other things which are too long and tedious to write, it would take up a great deal of

time.

This which follows is the Relation of Jone Winsor of long Burton, she being there three Nights, taken the

Third day of July 1677.

She heard or faw nothing as long as the Candle did burn, but as foon as it was out, there was something which did seem to fall down by the Bed-side, and by and by it began to lay on the Beds-head with a Staff, and did strike fone Winsor on the Head. She put forth her Hand Hand and caught it, but was not able to hold it faft She got out of the Bed to light a Candle, and there was a great Stone thrown after her, but it missed her. When the Candle was lighted they arose and went down to the Fire. One of them went up to fetch the Bed. cloaths to make a Bed by the Fire, and there lay a Heap of Stones on the Bed whereon they lay just before. As foon as the Bed was made, and they laid down to take their rest there was a great scratching on the Form that stood by them in an extream manner. Then it came, and did heave up the Bolfter whereon they laid their Heads, and did endeavour to throw them out. it got hold on one end of the Pillow, and fet it quite on end, and there it stood for some considerable time; at last falling down in its place, they fell fast asleep, and so continued all that Night.

The Staff that was spoken of before was Jone Windfor's, and the fays, the left it below in the Kitchin. fays, that which troubled, did endeavour to kill the People, if it had Power. She put them to it, to know the Reason why they were so troubled, and they said, they knew nothing, unless it were about the Bofiness of Old Warren. She was there three Nights, and the trouble was much after the same Manner, nothing that was

more remarkable

This is the truth of what I heard them speak from their own Mouths, and they will attest it if called thereunto.

# Advertisement.

Very considerable Story this is, and sufficiently cir-A cumstantiated for Time and Place, saving that the County is not named. The reason whereof I conceive to be, that it was in the very County in which Mr. Glanvil lived, to whom the Information was fent, namely in Somersetshire.

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And there are Burtons more than one there, and also Leighs, at this Burton is determined by the space of something more than a Mile and an halfs distance from Leigh. So that the Topographical account is sufficiently exact. And the manner of the Narrative is so simple, plain, and rural that it trevents all Suspicion of Fraud or Imposture in the Relator.

The transporting of things out of one Room into another, and striking and the like by invisible Agents, minds me of Mr. Lloyd's Story; as 'tis called in Mr. Glanvil's Papers, whom in a Letter he tells he may rely upon it for truth, as being sent from a Person of Quality and Integrity in those parts. It is of an House haunted of one Walter Meyrick of the Parish of Blethvaugh, in the County of Radnor, some Two and Twenty years ago. Where, besides strange kind of Tunable Whistlings in the Rooms, where none was seen to Whistle, there were Stones flung down out of a Loft of great weight, the Doors bolted or barred against them on the inside, when returned from the Church, no body being within. And at Prayers at home, when some of the Women, out of fear, held one another by the Arms, some invisible Power would pluck asunder their Arms, whether they would or no. By such an invisible Force, one as he was sitting at Supper, was struck flat to the Ground, and a Trencher struck out of the Maid's hand that waited, and a Smart Box on the Ear given to another, no visible thing being near that did it. A Purse lost with two Gold Rings, and Six and Four-pence in it, the Party complaining thereof, the Purse dropt down from the top of a Room, which had no Room over it, and Four-pence only in it. That Men were struck down with Stones, and yet had no greathurt, shews plainly they were not flung but carried. But there was one beaten with two Staves black and blue, but none to be seen that thus belaboured him, though in the Day.

We pass by the Frying Pan, beaten with a little piece of Iron, and tinkling over a Man's Head in the Night, to his being struck down with a Stick by Day, while he tended the Goose roasting, which that invisible Striker seemed to have

a Plot

a Plot upon, as also by his knocking a Pick-Ax against the Lid of a Coffer, to have a Design upon a Bag of Money. These and the like Feats, that Narrative relates, which Mr. Glanvil calls Mr. Lloyd's Story, who assures him he may rely on the Truth thereof, he procuring it from a Justice of Peace, who took the Parties Testimonies that dwelt in the House, or upon Occasions were present there, and were Eye. Witnesses of the strange Pranks that were plaid in the Place. And there being that Congeneracy betwixt James Shering's Story and this, they mutually corroborate one another.

### RELAT. XXIV,

Mr. \* Andrew Paschall once Fellow of Queen's Colledge in Cambridge, his Narrative of three Nights disturbance at his Father's House in London in \* Soper Lane, in August 1661. \* Vi. The Account of the 2d Edition, p. 12.

THE first Nights disturbance; There was in Family my Father and Mother, my eldest Brother, and one of my Sisters with a young Maiden Gentlewoman her Bedsellow (who semed to be principally concerned)

besides a Maid that lay in the same Chamber.

The Gentlewoman beforementioned, being in bed with my Sister in a Chamber within that where my Father and Mother lay, (the Maid lying in another Bed alone by) there seemed to her, then lying awake, to be one walking in the Chamber, by a noise made as of a long Gown, or some trailing Garment brushing and sweeping up and down the Room.

By and by, there was a noise of clattering their Shoes under the Bed, with a scratching and tugging of the Mat under the Bed likewise. This continued for some time, my Sister being awakened heard it, and so did the Maid. After this my Mother being called out of the next Chamber where she was up (to prepare a Chymical water which

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required their being up all Night) came in, they being in a great fright. My Brother went up also, who not gone to bed sate below. A Candle was brought and the Noise ceased while they were in the Chamber. Presently after they were gone out again, and the Light removed, the Chamber door (which shuts with difficulty) slew to with a great bounce, it being wide open before, it shook the Room, where my Mother was busied about the aforesaid Preparation. After this one of the Shoes that was by the Bedside was slung over the Bed with a mighty force against a Press that stood on the other side. This put them to such a fright again, that the Gentlewoman rise. My Brother went into the Room again, and sate up with them all Night.

This I received from my Brother, who came to bed to me, (who by reason of some Illness had gone to bed first in the Family) early the next Morning. I was confirmed in it afterwards by my Mother, upon whose bare affertion I dare considently believe any thing that shall

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The second Night's disturbance; the next Evening, as we fate ar Supper, we all heard a great Noise above in the Chamber, at the end of the House, as it were flinging of Chairs and Stools about the Room, or removing of great Trunks. And going up to fee, all was still till we came down again: However the Gentlewoman resolved to go to bed again that Night in the same Chamber. My Sifter went to bed with her, and the rest to their Lodgings, only my Brother and I resolved to sit up some time. and expect the Event. Within a while after we heard them knock earnestly above, we went both up, they told us there had been the same disturbance as the night For besides the tugging of before and fomething more. the Mat under the Bed, the Bed-cloaths upon them were often tugged and pulled, insomuch as they were fain to hold them hard with their Hands to keep them from being pulled off. All was quiet for a little time while we were in the Chamber with a Light, but we were no fooner

fooner out of the Chamber with the Candle, but the noise in her under the Bed, tugging of the Mat, pulling of the Bed, about I clothes began again. Moreover something came into the Bed, which the Gentlewoman faid ran upon her by degrees, and feemed little and foft like a Mole. Upon this she skreekt out, and we came in again with the

Candle, then all was still again.

We retired often with the Candle, and presently the same disturbance returned, together with a low while pering noise in many places about the Bed, but chiefy towards the Beds-head, which we all heard flaying in the Chamber, and removing the Candle into the next My Father and Mother rise, and there were none of us but heard all or most part of this, but nothing appeared to us. The thing was continually moving and flirring in some part or other of the Bed, and most commonly at the Feet, where it usually came up first. At last it came to that boldness, that it would make the fame disturbance while the Candle was in the Chamber, if but a little shaded behind the door, so that we could fometimes fee the Cloths pull'd and tugg'd, and we frequently faw it heave and lift up the Cloths upon the Bed towards the Feet, in a little Hill or rifing, which both my Brother and I often clapt our hands upon, perceiving it to move, and withal to make a little clacking noise, which cannot any more than the former whispering be exprest in Writing. We could not perceive any thing more than the Cloths, as often as we faw them fo moved and heaved up. The Shoes were laid up upon the Beds Tester, the second Night, to prevent the clattering which was made with them the night before, and whilst we were standing talking in the Chamber, as I was some distance from the Bed, one of the Shoes slew off and hit me lightly on the Head, my Hat being on. And another came presently tumbling down after it, none stirring the Bed. Afterwards the aforesaid little thing came upon the Gentlewoman fo frequently, that if we were but the least removed, she could not lie quiet

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in her Bed. Then she sate up in her Bed with a Mantle about her, which when we were retired was pulled at as f it would have been plucked from her. Whereupon he cryed out again, and I came into the Chamber again, and was defired to hold fast upon the Mantle about her. which notwithstanding upon removal of the Candle was tugged hard again, which I very fenfibly perceived. Whereupon we perceiving no Cessation, my Brother and I continued in the Chamber all that night, till break of day, with a Candle in the Room. The tugging of the Mat under the Bed, the heaving of the Clothes about the Feet, and the other whispering noise continuing by Fits till light appeared. There was scarcely any of us. especially she her self, that did not Conjure that Whisperer, by the most Sacred Names, to speak out and tell us its intent, but nothing was to be feen, nor any an-Iwer made.

The third nights disturbance; the Gentlewoman refolved now to change her Chamber, to try if the difturbance would follow, she did so, my Sister still accompanying of her. My Brother fate up as before below, expecting again what would follow. The same noise was heard this third night as the night before above in the Chamber. We had not fate long below before we were Summoned up with loud knockings again, they were in the same case as before, if not worse. after they were in Bed in this other Chamber, there was a clattering heard at the door, presently after the same noise under the Bed, the same heaving of the Cloths, and the same whispering as before. But towards Midnight, that thing which came into the Bed before, came now fo often, with fuch ungrateful skippings up and down upon her, that she often skreekt and cryed out. It feemed cold and very smooth as she related, and would commonly come in at her Feet, and run all upon her, by her side to her shoulder. Once she desired me to clap my hand upon her back near her shoulder Blade, as feeling it just then come up thither. I did so on a sudden, and there there feemed a cold blast or puff of Wind to blow upon my hand just as I clapt it on her. And one thing more remarkable was this, when the whispering was heard at her Beds-head, after we had many times in vain conjured it to speak and tell us the intent of its whisperings and disturbance, I spake to it very earnestly to speak out of whisper louder. Hereupon it hissed out much louder than before, but nothing intelligible to be heard. last this disturbance with the thing in the Bed being no longer tolerable to the Gentlewoman, my Mother rife (lying in the next Chamber, and hearing their perplexity) came into her Chamber, and prayed fometime at her Bedside just by her. Whereupon it pleased God within a very short time after to remove all those noises, and that which disturbed her. After that night, I cannot tell certainly, that there hath been any thing of that nature heard in the House.

### Advertisement.

His Narrative, though it was not among Mr. Glanvil's Papers, but I found it by chance in mine own Study, yet it being made by an Eye-witness, whom I knew to be one of Judgment and Integrity, I thought fit to insert it. And the rather, because of that passage, that when he class his hand upon the Shoulder of the Gentlewoman where the Ghost was, a cool blast or puff of Air seemed to bear or blow against his Hand. Which is like Mr. Glanvil's Experiment of pressing the Linnen Bag in which some Spirit was moving as a living Animal. Which are notable instances of their easie percribration through porous Bodies. This troublesome Spirit I suspect to have been the Ghost of some party deceased who would have uttered something, but had not the knack of speaking so articulately as to be understood. And when they can speak intelligibly, it is ordinarily in a hoarse and low Voice,

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Voice, as is observable in many stories, and particularly in a very fresh story of the Chost of one deceased that spoke to 1acob Brent, some two years ago, an Apprentice then to one Mr. Lawrence in the Little Minories; of which to give some brief account, I think fitting, for the very same reafons, that I have inserted this of Mr. Paschai, namely, that it is from an Eye-witness, and a discreet and mell-disposed young Man, as they that know him do testifie: and I will set down no more, nor so much as he himself declared or acknowledged, not only to Dr. Cudworth, Mr Fowler. and Mr. Glanvil, but very lately to my felf allo, viz.

That he had Conference with the Ghost of some deceased party for about a quarter of an hour: That he had a glimpfe of the shape thereof, being called into the Room where it was, by a Voice, saying, Here, Here; but that he presently cried out, Good God, let me see nothing, he being so affrighted with the fight But however, he entertained difcourse with it for about the time abovementioned; received several things in charge from it to be done, and was commanded secrecy in some special Matters; but it gave such instructions, and made such discoveries, as right might be done to some that had been wronged by the party deceased. Upon which performance of Jacob Brent, the disturbance of the House ceased: But for about six Weeks before, Mr. Lawrence his House was miserably disturbed, they being most nights affrighted with Thumpings and loud Knockings at the Chamber-doors, sometimes with a strange whirling noise up and down the Rooms, and clapping upon the Stairs. And that night Jacob Brent fate up in the Kitchin, expecting some Conference with the Spirit for the quiet of the House, he heard the door of the room above him, that was fast locke, fly open, while he was reading in Eusebius, and immediately a swift running down the Stairs, and a great knocking at the Kitchin-door which stood a jarr, and a chinking of Money on the Stairs, as he passed from the Kitchin towards the Dining-room over against it, whose Door was lockt when they went to Bed, but now opened as the Door of the other Room above the Kitchin. Into

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land.

Into this Dining-room he was invited, as is above said, by a Voice saying, Here, Here; and there he received, and after executed, such directions as gave quiet afterwards to the House; and he received thanks from the Ghost after be had made his Journey abroad to fulfil its desire, at his returning home, with a promise it would never trouble the House more. And of the troubles of the House before, the whole Family were Witnesses, as also of the Conference of J. B. and the Spirit, that they heard two speaking in the Dining-room, though they were not so near to understand what they said, only they heard J. B. pray to God that he might see nothing.

That the House was really Haunted, besides what has been said already, is further confirmed by Mr. Bamsield, who was desired to lie in the House some days before this Conference of J. B. with the Spirit; who though he heard no noises, yet felt his Cloths tuckt about him, and his Hand kindle stroaked he being awake all night. And that this could be no trick of J.B. is surther evident from that great emotion of mind he was in after this for some two hours; even almost to distraction, and was fair afterwards to be let Bloud. But for his constant temper, he is observed to be, and I take him to be such, of a sober, honest, and sensible Genius; nor is he any Sectarian, but an orderly Son of the Church of Eng-

And if the Injunctions of the Ghost he conversed with, and common rules of Prudence, did not forbid the declaring of some particulars, this is an experiment that might convince the most incredulous touching such things. But Mr. Glanvil complains in a Letter of his to Dr. H. More, that this shines and tender respect of persons has hindred him of many a considerable story; as I have also taken notice long since how mutilate the story of the Shoemaker of Breslaw is made, by reason of Martinus Weinrichius his concealing the Shoemakers Name. But the mentioning of lockt Doors slying open of their own accord, reminds me of Mr. Alcock's story of a Chest with three Locks unlocking it self, and slying wide open, and then locking it self again. Which is as follows.

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### RELAT. XXV.

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The Story of Mr. John Bourne of Durley in Ireland, about a mile from Bridgwater, Counsellour at Law.

MR. John Bourne, for his Skill, Care, and Honesty, was made by his Neighbour John Mallet Eig; of Enmore, the chief of his Truftees for his Son John Mallet, (Father to Elizabeth now Countess Dowager of Rochefter) and the rest of his Children in Minority. He had the reputation of a worthy good Man, and was commonly taken notice of for an habitual faying, by way of Interjection, almost to any thing, viz. You fay true, You say true, You are in the right. This Mr. Bourne fell fick at his House at Durley in the year 1654. and Dr. Raymond of Oake was fent for to him, who after some time gave the faid Mr. Bourne over. And he had not now spoke in Twenty four hours, when the said Dr. Raymond, and Mrs. Carlifle (Mr. Bourne's Nephew's Wife, whose Husband he made one of his Heirs) sitting by his Bed-side, the Doctor opened the Curtains at the Beds feet, to give him air; when on a sudden, to the horrour and amazement of Dr. Raymond and Mrs. Carliste, the great Iron Chest by the Window at his Beds feet with three Locks to it (in which were all the Writings and Evidences of the faid Mr. Mallet's Estate) began to open, first one Lock, then another, then the third. Afterwards the Lid of the faid Iron Chest lifted up it felf, and stood wide open. Then the Patient Mr. Bourne, who had not spoke in Twenty four hours, lifted himself up also, and looking upon the Chest, cryed, You say true, You say true, You are in the right, I'll be with you by and by. So the Patient lay down, and spake no more. Then the Cheft fell again of it felf, and lockt it felf one Lock after another, as the three Locks opened; and they tried to knock it open and could not, and Mr. Bourne died within an hour after. Adver-Ff 2

# Advertisement.

This Narrative was sent in a Letter to J. C. for Dr. H. More, from Mr. Thomas Alcock of Shear-Ham. pton; of which in a Letter to the said Doctor he gives this Account. I am, saith he, very consider of the truth of the Story: for I had it from a very good Lady, the eldest Daughter of the said John Mallet, (whose Trustee Mr. Bourne was) and only Aunt to the Countess of Rochester, who knew all the Parties; and have heard Dr. Raymond, and Mr. Carlisle relate it often with amazement, being both Persons of Credit.

The curious may be inquisitive what the meaning of the opening of the Chest may be, and of Mr. Bourne his saying, You say true, &c. I'll be with you by and by. As for the former, it is noted by Paracellus especially, and by others, that there are signs often given of the departure of sick men lying on their Death-beds, of which this opening of the Iron Coffer or Chest, and closing again, is more than ordinary significant, especially if we consider the nearness of Sound and Sence betwixt Cosser and

Coffin, and recal to mind that of Virgil.

### Olli dura quies oculos & ferreus urget Somnus —

though this quaintness is more than is requisite in these Prodigies presaging the Sick man's death. As for the latter, it seems to be nothing else but the saying Amen to the presage uttered in his accustomary form of speech: As if he should say, You of the invisible Kingdom of Spirits have given the token of my sudden departure: And you say true, I shall be with you by and by. Which he was enabled so assuredly to assent to, upon the advantage of the Relaxation of his Som now departing from the Body. Which Diodorus Siculus, lib. 18. notes to be the opinion of Pythagoras and his Followeth.

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lowers, that it is the Priviledge of the Soul near her departure to exercise a Fatidical faculty, and to pronounce truly touching things future, Περγιγνώσκην τὰς ψυχὰς τὰ μέλλον λα καθ' ον ὰν καμερν ἐν τῷ τελευτῷ τὸν ἐπὸ τῶ σώματ Θ χωρισμὸν σοιῶν λαι, That humane Souls prognostick things to come at what time they are separating from their Body.

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### RELAT. XXVI.

The Apparition of James Haddock to Francis Taverner near Drum-bridge in Ireland, comprized in a Letter of Thomas Alcock, to Dr. H. More.

A T Michaelmas 1662. Francis Taverner, about 25 1 years old, a lufty, proper, flout Fellow, then fervant at large (afterwards Porter) to the Lord Chichester Earl of Donegal, at Belfast in the North of Ireland, County of Antrim, and Dioceis of Connor, riding late in the night from Hilbrough homeward, near Drumbridge, his Horse, though of good metal, suddenly made a stand; and he supposing him to be taken with the Staggers, alighted to blood him in the mouth, and prefently mounted again. As he was fetting forward, there feemed to pass by him two Horsemen, though he could not hear the treading of their Feet, which amazed him. Prefently there appeared a third in a white Coat, just at his Elbow, in the likeness of James Haddock, formerly an Inhabitant in Malone, where he died near five years before. Whereupon Taverner askt him in the Name of God who he was? he replied, I am James Haddock, and you may call to mind by this Token; That about five years ago I and two other Friends were at your Father's House, and You by your Father's appointment brought us some Nuts, and therefore be not afraid, says the Appa-Whereupon Taverner, remembring the Circumstances, thought it might be Haddock; and those two

two who passed by before him, he thought to be his two Friends with him when he gave them Nuts, and couragioufly askt him why he appeared to him rather than any other. He answered, Because he was a Man of more resolution than others; and if he would ride his way with him, he would acquaint him with a business he had to deliver him. Which Taverner refused to do, and would go his own way, (for they were now at a Quadrivial) and fo rode on homewards. But immediately, on their departure, there arose a great Wind, and withal he heard very hideous screeches and noises, to his great amazement; but riding forward as fast as he could, he at last heard the Cocks crow, to his comfort; he alighted off from his Horse, and falling to Prayer, defired God's

affistance, and so got safe home.

The night after there appeared again to him the likeness of James Haddock, and bid him go to Elenor Wellh, (now the Wife of Davis living at Malone, but formerly the Wife of the said James Haddock, by whom she had an onely Son, to whom the faid James Haddock had by his Will given a Leafe which he held of the Lord Chichester, of which the Son was deprived by Davis who had Married his Mother) and to ask her if her Maidenname was not Elenor Welsh; and if it were, to tell her, that it was the Will of her former Husband Fames Haddock that their Son should be righted in the Lease. But Taverner, partly loth to gain the ill will of his Neighbours, and partly thinking he should not be credited but lookt on as deluded, long neglected to do his Message, till having been every night for about a Months space haunted with this Apparition in feveral Forms every Night more and more terrible, (which was usually preceded by an unufual trembling over his whole Body, and great change of Countenance manifest to his Wife, in whose presence frequently the Apparition was, though not visible to her) at length he went to Malone to Da vis's Wife, and askt whether her Maiden-name was not Elenor Welsh; if it was, he had something to say to her.

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She replied, there was another Elenor Welsh besides her. Hereupon Taverner returned without delivering his Message. The same night being fast asleep in his Bed, (for the former Apparitions were, as he sate by the Fire, with his Wise) by something pressing upon him, he was awakened, and saw again the Apparition of James Haddock, in a white Coat, as at other times, who asked him is he had delivered his Message? He answered, he had been there with Elenor Welsh. Upon which the Apparition looking more pleasantly upon him, bid him not be

afraid, and fo vanished in a flash of brightness.

But some nights after (he having not delivered his Message) he came again, and appearing in many formidable shapes, threatned to tear him in pieces if he did not do it. This made him leave his House where he dwelt in the Mountains, and betake himself to the Town of Belfast, where he sate up all night at one Pierce's House a Shoemaker, accompanied with the faid Pierce, and a Servant or two of the Lord Chichester, who were desirous to see or hear the Spirit. About Midnight, as they were all by the Fire-side, they beheld Taverner's Countenance to change, and a trembling to fall on him, who presently espeed the Apparition in a Room oppolite to him where he fate, and took up the Candle and went to it, and resolutely askt it, in the Name of God, wherefore it haunted him? It replied, because he had not delivered the Message, and withal threatned to tear him in pieces if he did not do it speedily; and so, changing it felf into many prodigious shapes, it vanisht in white like a Ghost. Whereupon Francis Taverner became much dejected and troubled, and next day went to the Lord Chichester's House, and with tears in his Eyes, related to some of the Family the sadness of his condition. They told it to my Lord's Chaplain, Mr. James South, who came presently to Taverner, and being acquainted of his whole Story, advised him to go this present time to Malone to deliver punctually his Message, and promised to go along with him. But first they went to Ff 4

Dr. Lewis Downs, then Minister of Belfast, who upon hearing the Relation of the whole matter, doubted at first of the truth of it, attributing it rather to Melancholy than any thing of reality. But being afterwards fully fatisfied of it, the onely scruple remaining was, Whether it might be lawful to go on fuch a business, not knowing whose errand it was; Since, though it was a real Apparition of some Spirit, yet it was questionable whether of a good or a bad Spirit. Yet the justice of the Cause, (it being the common report the Youth was wronged) and other confiderations prevailing, he went with them. So they three went to Davis's House, where the Woman being defired to come to them, Taverner did effectually do his Message, by telling her, that he could not be at quiet for the Ghost of her former Husband James Haddock, who threatned to tear him in pieces if he did not tell her she must right John Haddock her Son by him, in a Leafe wherein the and Davis her now Husband had wronged him. This done, he prefently found great quietness in his mind; and thanking the Gentlemen for their Company, Advice, and Assistance, he departed thence to his Brother's House at Drum-bridge: Where, about two Nights after, the aforesaid Apparition came to him again, and more pleafantly than formerly, askt if he had delivered his Meffage? He answered, he had done it fully. It replied, that he must do the Message to the Executors also, that the business might be perfected. At this meeting Taverner asked the Spirit if Davis would do him any hurt; to which it answered at first somewhat doubtfully; but at length threatned Davis, if he attempted any thing to the injury of Taverner, and so vanisht away in white.

The day following, Dr. Jeremie Taylor Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, was to go to keep Court at Dromore, and commanded me, who was then Secretary to him, to write for Taverner to meet him there, which he did. And there, in the presence of many, he examined

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mamined Taverner strictly in this strange Scene of Prowidence, as my Lord stil'd it; and by the Account given him both by Taverner, and others who knew Taverner, and much of the former Particulars, his Lordship was farisfied that the Apparition was true and real; but faid no more there to him, because at Hilbrough, three Miles from thence on his way home, my Lord was informed that my Lady Conway and other Persons of Quality were come purposely to hear his Lordship examine the Matter. So Taverner went with us to Hilbrough, and there to fatisfie the curiofity of the fresh Company, after asking many things anew, and fome over again, my Lord advised him the next time the Spirit appeared, to ask him thefe Questions. Whence are you? Are you a good or a bad Spirit? Where is your abode? What station do you hold? How are you regimented in the other World? And what is the Reason that you appear for the Relief of your Son in so small amatter, when so many Widows and Orphans are oppressed in the World, being defrauded of greater matters, and none from thence of their Kelations appear as you do, to right them ?

That night Taverner was fent for to Lisburne, to my Lord Conway's three Miles from Hilbrough, on his way home to Belfast, where he was again strictly examined in the presence of many good Men and Women, of the aforesaid matter, who was ordered to lie at my Lord Conway's all night; and about nine or ten a Clock at Night, standing by the Fire-side with his Brother and many others, his Countenance changed, and he fell into a trembling, the usual Prognostick of the Apparition; and, being loth to make any disturbance in his Lordship's House, He and his Brother went into the Court, where he faw the Spirit coming over the Wall; which approaching nearer, askt him if he had done his Meffage to the Executor also? He replied, he had, and wondred it should still haunt him. It replied, he need not fear, for it would do him no hurt, nor trouble him any more, but the Executor if he did not fee the Boy righted. righted. Here his Brother put him in mind to ask the Spirit what the Bishop bid him, which he did presently. But it gave him no Answer, but crawled on its Hands and Feet over the Wall again, and so vanisht in white,

with a most melodious Harmony.

Note, (1) That Pierce, at whose House and in whose presence the Apparition was, being askt whether he saw the Spirit, said, he did not, but thought at that time he had a Mist all over his Eyes. (2) What was then spoken to Taverner, was in so low and hollow a Voice, that they could not understand what it said. (3.) At Pierce's House it stood just at the entry of a Door; and as a Maid passed by to go in at the Door, Taverner saw it go aside, and give way to the Maid, though she saw it not. (4.) That the Lease was hereupon disposed on to the Boy's use. (5.) The Spiritat the last appearing at my Lord Conway's House, revealed somewhat to Taverner, which he would not discoverto any of us that askt him.

This Taverner, with all the Persons and Places mentioned in the Story, I knew very well, and all wise and good men did believe it, especially the Bishop, and Dean

of Connor Dr. Rust. Witness

Your humble Servant,

Thomas Alcock.

# Advertisement.

Twill not be amiss to set down here, what Mr. Alcock adds by way of Postscript in his Letter. There is an odd Story, saith he, depending on this which I cannot chuse but tell you. The Boy's Friends put the Trustees and Executor on this Apparition's account into our Courts, where it was pleasant to hear my Lord talk to them on the whole

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ntter. The Uncle and Trustee, one John Costlet, forore the thing, railed on Taverner, and made strange imecations, and wisht Judgments might fall on him if he knew
any such Lease; but the fear of the Apparition's menaces.
Taverner scar'd him into a promise of Justice at last.
bout four or sive years after, when my Lord died, and
e noise of the Apparition was over, Costlet began again to
reaten the Boy with Law, &c. But being drunk at Hillall by Lisburne, coming home he fell from his Horse,
and never spake more. This is a sad truth to my knowdge.

### RELAT. XXVII.

The Story of David Hunter Neat-herd to the Bishop of Down and Connor, at Portmore in Ireland, 1663. from the same hand.

Avid Hunter, Neat-herd at the Bishops House at Portmore, there appeared to him one night, carying a Log of Wood into the Dairy, an old Woman, which amazed him, for he knew her not: but the fright nade him throw away his Log of Wood, and run into the House. The next night she appeared again to him, and he could not chuse but follow her all night; and so almost every night for near three quarters of a Year. Whenever she came, he must go with her through the Woods at a good round rate; and the poor Fellow lookt as if he was bewitcht and travelled off his Legs. And when in Bed with his Wife, if she appeared, he must rife and go. And because his Wife could not hold him in his Bed, she would go too, and walk after him till day, though she see nothing: But his little Dog was so well acquainted with the Apparition, that he would follow her as well as his Master. If a Tree stood in her waik, he observed her always to go through it. In all this while she spake not.

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But one day the faid David going over a Hedge in to the High-way, she came just against him, and he cryed out, Lord bless me, would I was dead; shall I never be delivered from this mifery? At which, And the Lord bless me too, fays she: It was very happy you spake first. for till then I had no power to speak, though I have followed you fo long. My Name, Tays she, is Margaret \_\_\_\_\_, 1 lived here before the War, and had one Son by my Husband. When he died I married a Souldier, by whom I had several Children, which that former Son maintained, else we must have all starved. He lives beyond the Ban-water; pray 90 to him and bid him dig under such a Hearth, and there he Rhall find 28 s. Let him pay what I owe in such a place, and the rest to the charge unpayed at my Funeral; and go to my Son that lives here, which I had by my latter Husband, and tell him, that he lives a wicked and a diffolute life, and is very unnatural and ungrateful to his Brother that maintained him, and if he does not mend his life, God Almighty will destroy bim.

she, I died seven years before you came into the Country. But for all that, if he would do her Message she should never hurt him. But he deferred doing as the Apparition bid him, and she appeared the night after as he lay in Bed, and struck him on the shoulder very hard; at which he cryed out, and askt her if she did not promise she would not hurt him? She said, that was if he did her Message; if not, she would kill him. He told her he could not go now by reason the Waters were out. She said she was content he should stay till they were abated; but charged him afterwards not to sail her. So he did her errand, and afterwards she appeared and gave him thanks. For now, said she, I shall be at rest, therefore pray lift me up from the ground, and I will trouble you no more. So David Hunter listed her up from the ground,

"David Hunter told her he never knew her. No, fays

and, as he faid, she felt just like a Bag of Feathers in his Arms So she vanisht, and he heard most delicate Musick as she went off, over his head; and he never was

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This account the poor Fellow gave us every day as the Apparition spake to him, and my Lady Conway came to Portmore, where she askt the Fellow the same questions, and many more. This I know to be true, being all the while with my Lord of Down, and the Fellow but a poor Neat-herd there.

Thomas Alcock?

### Advertisement.

TT is no small confirmation to my self of the truth of these two last Stories, in both which my Lady Conway is mentioned, in that I received two Letters from that incomparable Lady out of Ireland touching them both. The former is dated, Lisburn, March 3. 1662. wherein she writes thus: I have spoken lately with two simple Country people who have been much perplexed with two feveral Persons who have died lately. The Stories are too long to relate; but the Circumstances are such, as I know not how to misbelieve the Stories. The Persons cannot be suspected to have any Design, and were altogether unacquainted in the Families of them that appeared, and wholly ignorant of those things in them that they now relate, and have charge to follicite the amendment of fome M: scarriages by fome Persons intrusted, which they could never hear of, as is supposed, by any other means. There are many other Probabilities, but all evaded by several Persons here. And to give you a Taste of their goodly Evasions, I will transcribe a Passage out of the other Letter of the faid excellent Lady, dated Lisburn, April 29. 1663. wherein the writes thus: The Relation I fent you of two in this Country is certainly liable to as little exception (There was mention of the Drummer of Tedworth before) as any one shall meet with; As may appear by the diligent fearch some have made for a Flaw and

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uas nis and Objection against the Parties, who, after all, they con fefs, must needs appear perfectly uninteressed, and impos fible to have had from any concerned, what they haved livered. But they believe that either Drunkennes, desperate Melancholy did by chance enable them to light upon greater Truths than themselves thought of Thus far that excellent Person. And it was enough for the noble Lady onely to recite their Solution of the Phanomenon into Melancholy and Drunkenness, it being so trifling and filly, that it wanted no farther Refutation than the men Recital.

That Drink may discover the Secrets of him that i The Co Drunk, as the Poet observes, is reasonable enough: be that a Man by being drunk is better capacitated to under stand the Secrets of another Man, or of his Family, is wild a Paradox, that no Sober Man can admit it. An what is Melancholy but a natural Drunkenness when it for ments? And moreover, it being but by chance that Melan choly or Drunkenness enables them to light upon such things why may not Sanguine and Sobriety chance as well to do the Same, and not rather better, if there be any betterness in thing by chance? But if there be any advantage in fermenting Melancholy or strong Drink, it is because the Soul is mon excited, and made more ready to discover its own more in ward Furniture, as Men in drink reveal their own Secret. But the Soul has no innate Ideas of particular things, and therefore the greatest Effervescency of Drink or Melanches will not a jot better dispose her to the knowledge of Particilars, but indispose her for the reception of them from with out. So blindly do these Witlings Philosophize touching things of this Nature.

And yet, I dare Say, this was the very best of their Eva sions: Which being no better against these two Stories, and the Stories so sifted and examined (to say nothing of others) by a Person of so quick a Wit, impartial Judgment and Sa gacity, as I know that excellent Lady to have been, I must confess, that to me it is a Confirmation as strong as I can desire for the main strokes of the Stories, of which I retain

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ome memory, having heard a more particular Account of them from her Lady ship presently upon her return from Ireland some ixteen years ago. Nor do doubt but Mr. Alcock has ape de roved himself a faithful Reciter of them as to the main; nor in there any one rightly be deemed more sit and able, he beng present at the Examination of Taverner, and dwelling at t of Portmore with the Bishop of Down, whose servant Hunter vas.

### RELAT. XXVIII.

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The Confessions of certain Scotch Witches, taken out of an authentick Copy of their Trial at the Affizes held at Paifley in Scotland, Feb. 15. 1678. touching the bewitching of Sir George Maxwel.

THE Tenour of the Confessions taken before Justices: As first of Annibal Stuart of the age of foureen years, or thereby; who declared that she was rought in the presence of the Justices for the crime of oing Vitchcraft; and declared that on Harvest last, the Deil in the shape of a black Man came to her Mother's louse, and required the Declarant to give her self up o him; and that the Devil promised her that she should ot want any thing that was good. Declares, that fhe beng enticed by her Mother Jannet Mathie, and Beffie Veir, who was Officer to their feveral meetings, the out her hand to the crown of her Head, and the other o the foal of her Foot, and did give her felf up to the Declares, that her Mother promised her a new Devil. Coat for doing of it. Declares that her Spirit's Name was and snippa, and that the Devil took her by the Hand and ipped her Arm, which continued to be fore for half and lour. Declares, that the Devil in the shape of a black an lay with her in the Bed under the Clothes, and that he found him cold. Declares, that thereafter he placed And declares, the was present in er nearest himself.

her Mothers Honse when the Effigies of Wax was made a meet and that it was made to represent Sir George Maxwell Devil Declares, that the black Man, Janet Mathie, the De Marge clarant's Mother (whose Spirit's name was Landlady; present Bessie Weir, whose Spirit's name is Sopha; Margare to be clarant's Mother (whole Spirit's name was Lindlady present Besse Weir, whose Spirit's name is Sopha; Margan to be Craige, whose Spirit's name is Rigerum; and Margan night, Jackson, whose Spirit's name is Locas; were all present at the making of the said Effigies; and that they bound it on a Spit, and turned it before the Fire; and that his Clawas turned by Besse Weir, saying, as they turned it, she garet george Maxwel, Sir George Maxwel; and that this was ter in expressed by all of them, and by the Declarant. Described by all of them, and by the Declarant. Described further declares, that upon the third day of Januar instant, Besse Weir came to her Mothers House, and additionally the came to the night following. And that accordingly she came to the place, where she found Besse Weir, Margery Craige he show the place, where she found Besse Weir, Margery Craige he show may are to Jackson, and her Brother John Stuart, and his her Margaret Jackson, and her Brother John Stuart, and his her Declarant sate down by the Fire-side with them when they made a Picture of Clay, in which they place of Clay in the Breast. Declares, that the placed one in every Side, and one in the Breast. Declared that the black Man did put the Pins in the Picture of Clay. Declares, that the Effigies produced a the Effigies she saw made. Declares, that the black Man draw made. Declares, that the black Man has a semitted before the Effigies she saw made. Declares, that the black Man has a semitted before the Dunlop of Husil, William Gremlaye, &c. Jan. 27 de, a lost the Effigies Dunlop of Husil, William Gremlaye, &c. Jan. 27 de, a lost the Efficies and the Robertus Park Natarius Publicus &c. James Dunlop of Husil, William Gremlaye, &c. Jan. 27 de, a 1677. Ita est. Robertus Park Notarius Publicus, &c. Jold th

The fecond Confession is of John Stuart, who bein naking interrogate anent this crime of Witchcraft, declared eet to That upon Wednesday the third day of January instant was bluessie Weir in Pollocton, came to the Declarant later suffs; a night, who being without doors near his own House and the said Bessie Weir did intimate to him, that there we had for

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meeting to be at his House the next day: And that the Devil under the shape of a black Man, Margaret Jackson, the Margery Craige, and the said Bessie Weir, were to be by present. And that Bessie Weir, required the Declarant to be there, which he promised. And that the next night, after the Declarant had gone to Bed, the black and name in and called the Declarant quietly by his name. Upon which he arose from his Bed, and put on his Cloths and lighted a Candle. Declares, that Marsie garet Jackson, Bessie Weir, and Margery Craige, did enter in at a Window in the Gavil of the Declarant's the House. And that the first thing that the black Man required, was, that the Declarant should renounce his Baptism, and deliver himself up wholly to him; Which Baptism, and deliver himself up wholly to him: Which the Declarant did, by putting one hand on the crown of his Head, and the other on the soal of his Foot. And that he was tempted to it by the Devil's promising that he should not want any pleasure, and that he should get his heart filled on all that shall do him wrong. Declares, that he gave him the name of tonas for his Spirit's name. Declares, that thereafter the Devil required every one of their consents for the making of the Ethigies of Clay for the taking away the life of Sir George Maximal of Pollock, to revenge the taking the Declarant's nother Jannet Mathie. Declares, that every one of the persons above-named gave their consent to the making of the said Effigies, and that they wrought the Clay, and that the black Man did make the Figure of the Head and Face, and two Arms to the said Effigies. Declares, nd Face, and two Arms to the said Effigies. Declares, hat the Devil set three Pins in the same, one in each ide, and one in the Breast: And that the Declarant did old the Candle to them all the time the Picture was old the Candle to them all the time the Picture was naking. And that he observed one of the black Man's eet to be cloven: and that the black Man's Apparel was black: and that he had a blueish Band and Handuffs; and that he had Hogers on his Legs without Shoes: and that the black Man's Voice was hough and gousty. In and further declares, that after they had begun the forming

forming of the Effigies, his Sifter Annabil Smart, Child of thirteen or fourteen years of Age, came knock ing at the Door, and being let in by the Declarant, fine flaid with them a considerable time, but that she went away before the rest, he having opened the Door to her. Declares, that the rest went out at the Window at which they entred. Declares, that the Effigies was placed by Beffie Weir in his Bedftraw. He further de. clares, he himself did envy against Sir George Maxne for apprehending Jannet Mathie his Mother: And that Beffie Weir had great malice against this Sir George Max. mel; and that her quarrel was, as the Declarant conceived, because the faid Sir George had not entred he Husband to his Harvest-service; and also declares, that the faid Effigies was made upon the fourth day of 74 nuary instant, and that the Devil's name was Ejoall. De. clares, that his Spirits name was Jonas, and Beffie Wein Spirit's name, who was Officer, was Sopha; and that Margaret Jackson's Spirits name was Locas; and that Annabil Stuart's, the Declarant's Sifters was Enippa; but does not remember what Margery Craige's Spirits name was. Declares, that he cannot write. This Confession was emitted in the presence of the Witnesses to the other Confession, and on the same day. Ita est. Robertus Park Notarins Publicus, &c.

The Confession of Margaret Jackson, Relict of The Stuart in Shaws, who being examined by the Justices anent her, being guilty of Witchcraft, declares, That she was present at the making of the first Effigies and Picture that was made in Jannet Mathie's House in Otheber, and that the Devil in the shape of a black Man, Jannet Mathie, Besse Weir, Margery Craige, and Annahi Stuart, was present at the making of the said Effigies, and that it was made to represent Sir George Maxwel of Pollock, for the taking away his life. Declares, that forty years ago, or thereabout, she was at Pollockshameroft, with some sew sticks on her back, and that the black Man came to her, and that she did give up her

felf u the f clarar rit's n about by, i to be her H ty ye appea peare the 4 of 70 made fittin the t white Anna the a of Cl maki who Sic f cus,

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felf unto the black Man from the top of her Head to the foal of her Foot; and that this was after the Declarant's renouncing of her Baptism; and that the Spirit's name which he defigned her, was Locas. And that about the third or fourth of January instant, or thereby, in the night time when the awaked, the found a Man to be in Bed with her, whom she supposed to have been her Husband, though her Husband had been dead twenty years or thereby, and that the Man immediately difappeared: and declares, that this Man, who disappeared was the Devil. Declares, that upon Thursday, the 4th of January instant, she was present in the House of John Stuart at night when the Effigies of Clay was made, and that she saw the black Man there, sometimes fitting, fometimes standing with John Stuart; and that the black Man's Cloths were black, and that he had white Handcuffs. And that Beffie Weir in Pollockton, and Annabil Stuart in Shaws, and Margary Craige, were at the aforesaid time and place of making the said Effigies of Clay; and declares, that she gave her consent to the making of the same; and declares, that the Devil's name, who compeired in the black Man's shape, was Ejoall. Sic subscribitur. Ita eft. Robertus Park Notarius Publicm, &c.

Now follow the Depositions of certain Persons agreeing with the Confessions of the abovesaid Witches.

A Ndr. Martin Servitour to the Lord of Pollock, of the Age of Thirty years or thereby, depones, That he was present in the House of Jannet Mathie Pannal when the Picture of Wax produced was found in a little hole in the Wall at the back of the Fire. Depones, that Sir George his Sickness did fall upon him about the eighteenth of October or thereby. Depones, that the Picture of Wax was found on the \* \* \* of December, and that Sir George his Sickness did abate and relent about the time the Picture of Wax was found

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Pannals,

and discovered in Jannet Mathie's House. Depones, that the Pins were placed in the right and lest sides; and that Sir George Maxwell of Pollock his pains, as he understood by Sir George's complaining of these pains, lay most in his right and lest sides. And depones, that Sir George his pains did abate and relent after the finding of the said Picture of Wax, and taking out of the Pins as is said. And depones, that the Pannal Jannet Mathie has been by same and bruite reputed a Witch these several years by-past. And this is the truth as he shall an.

fwer to God. Sic subscrib. Andr. Martin.

Laurence Pollock Secretary to the Lord of Pollock, Sworn and purged of partial Counsel, depones as follows, That on the \* \* day of December he was in the Pannel Jannet Mathie's House when the Picture was found; and that he did not see it before it was brought to the Pannal's door. Depones, that Sir George Maxwel of Pollock's sickness did seize upon him about the fourteenth of October or thereby, and he did continue in his Sickness or Distemper for six Weeks or thereby. Depones, that Sir George his Sickness did abate and relent after the finding of the said Picture of Wax, and taking out of the Pins that were in the Effigies. Depones, that by open bruit and common same, Jannet Mathie, and Bessie Weir, and Margery Craige, are brandit to be Witches. Depones, That the truth is this as he shall answer it to God. Sic subscrib. Laurence Pollock.

Lodovic Stuart of Auchunhead being sworn and purged of partial Counsel, depones, That Sir George his Sickness sell upon him the sourteenth or sisteenth of October, or thereby. Depones, that he was not present at the sinding of the Picture of Wax; but that he had seen Sir George Maxwel of Pollock after it was found; and having seen him in his Sickness often times before, he did perceive that Sir George had sensibly recovered, after the time that the said Picture was said to be found, which was upon the 11th or 12th of December. Depones, that Jannet Mathie, and Margery Craige, two of the

Pannals, are by report of the Country faid to be Witches. Depones, that he having come to Pollock, he did fee Sir George Maxwel, whose pains did recur, and that his pains and torments were greatly encreased in respect of what they were before the finding of the Picture of Wax. Depones, that upon the 8th of January, when they left the faid Sir George Maxwel of Pollock, the Deponent James Dunlop of Houfil, Allan Douglace, and feveral others, did go to the House of John Stuart Warlock in Pollock haw, and there he found a Picture of Clay in the said John Stuart's Bed-straw. Depones, that there were three Pins in the faid Picture of Clay, and that there was one in each fide, and one in the Breaft: and depones, that being returned to Sir George his House, Sir George told the Deponent, that he found great ease of his pains, and that it was before the Deponent Houfil and the rest did reveal to him that they had found the faid Picture of Clay; and further depones, that to his own observation he did perceive that Sir George had sensibly recovered. Depones, that they took the faid John Stuart Pannal Prisoner with them at the finding of the said Ef-And depones, that this is truth as he shall anfwer God. Sic subscrib. Lodowick Stuart.

There follow more Depositions in the Copy, but these are the most for our purpose, and enough to discover that the Confessions of those Witches are no Fa-

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## Advertisement.

These Confessions and Depositions are transcribed out of the Copy in the same Scottish Dialect that I found them; and several words there are which I profess I understand not, as those for example concerning the black Man's Voice, that it was bough and goustie: But if the Voice of this black Man be like that of his who

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appeared

appeared to the Witches whom Mr. Hunt examined.

they may fignifie a big and low Voice.

There is another Scottish Tryal of Witches amongst Mr. Glanvil's Papers, with the same general subscription that this has, viz. Robert Martin Clerk to the Justice Court. But that is of too old a date, it being in the year 1590. to comply with the title of our Stories. But it being a true Copy of Record so Authentick, though not so fresh, it may haply not be amiss briefly to name some Essects, Kinds, or Circumstances of Witchcraft therein mentioned; such especially as have not occurred in the foregoing Stories; as the giving and taking away power from sundry mens Genital-Members, for which

Fannet Clark was accused.

That which is observable in John Fiene is, that the Devil appeared to him not in black, but in white rayment; but proposed as hellish a Covenant to him as those Fiends that appear in black. As also lying dead two or three hours, and his Spirit tane, (as the Phrase in the Record is) his being carried or transported to many Mountains, and, as he thought, through the World, according to his own Depositions. His hearing the Devil preach in a Kirk in the Pulpit in the night by Candle-light, the Candle burning blue. That in a Conventicle of Witches, whose Names are specified in the Record, he with the rest, at parting, kissed the Devil's Breech; the Record speaks more broadly. His skimming on the Sea in a Boat with those of his Gang, and his forecelling the Leak in the Queens Ship by the help of the Devil. His raising Winds with the rest at the King's passage into Denmark, by casting a Cat into the Sea, which the Devil delivered to them, and taught them to cry Hola when they first cast it in. His raising a Mist at the King's return from Denmark, by getting Satan to cast a thing like a Foot-ball (it appearing to John like a Wisp) into the Sea, which made a vapour or reek to arise, whereby the King's Majesty might be cast upon the Coast of England. His hearing the Devil again

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again preach in a Pulpit in black, who after pointed them to Graves, to open and difmember the Corps therein; which done, incontinently they were transported without words. His opening Locks by Sorcery, as one by mere blowing into a Woman's hand while he fate by the Fire. His raising four Candles on the Luggs of an Horfe, and another on the top of the Staff of his Rider in the night, that he made it as light as day; and how the Man fell down dead at the entring within his House at his return home. His embarquing in a Boat with other Witches, and failing over Sea, and entring within a Ship, and drinking good Wine and Ale there, and finking the Ship when they had done, with the persons in it. His kissing Satan's Breech again after another Conventicle. His being swiftly carried above in the chasing of a Cat to catch her to cast into the Sea. thereby to raise Winds, according to the prescription of Satan. His pretending to tell any Man how long he should live if he told him but the day of his birth.

There are also several things in Agnes Sympson's Witchcraft, such as there scarce occur the like in the foregoing stories. As her skill in Diseases. That the fickness of William Black was an Elf-shot. Her hearing also of them by Sorcery, and foretelling the party whether he should live or die, and others how long they should live. Her taking the sick parties pains and sicknesses upon her self for a time, and then translating it to a third person. Her use of long scriptural Prayers and Rhymes, containing the main points of Christianinity, fo that she may feem to have been not so much a white Witch as an holy Woman. And yet it is upon Record that she made a Covenant with the Devil in the shape of a Man, and in such like hellish manner, as other Witches do. But when she fought for answers from the Devil upon any occasion, he appeared to her in the shape of a Dog; but the formula of her dismitting of him, was, The charging him to depart on the Law he lives on, as the did when the dismist him after her confulting Gg 4

fulting him about the old Lady Edmonston's fickness; but her invocation was, Elva, come and speak to me, who came in the likeness of a Dog. Her failing with her Fellow-Witches in a Boat to a Ship, where the Devil caused her to drink good Wine, she neither seeing the Mariners, nor the Mariners her. But after all, the Devil raised a Wind whereby the Ship perished. Her baptizing, and using other Ceremonies upon a Cat, with other Witches, to hinder the Queens coming into Scotland. Her raising of a Spirit to conjure a Picture of Wax for the destroying of Mr. John Moscrope.

Hitherto I have brought but small shreds out of this ancient Record, but I will conclude with a full Paragraph, it containing the Confession of Agnes Sympson to

King James then of the Scots: Which is this.

Item, Fyled and convict for sameckle as she confest before his Majesty, that the Devil in Mans likeness met her going out in the Fields from her own House at Keith betwixt five and fix at Even, being alone, and commandit her to be at Northbervick-Kirk the next And she past then on Horseback, conveyed by her Good-son called John Couper, and lighted at the Kirk-yard, or a little before she came to it, about eleven hours at Even. They danced along the Kirk-yard, Geilie Duncan plaid to them on a Trump, John Fien mussiled led all the rest; the said Agnes and her Daughter followed next. Besides, there were Kate Grey, George Moilis's Wife, Robert Greir fon, Katharine Duncan, Beffie Right, Isabel Gilmore, John Graymaill, Duncan Buchanan, Thomas Barnhil and his Wife, Gilbert Macgil, Job. Macgil, Katharine Macgil, with the rest of their Complices above an hundred persons, whereof there were fix Men, and all the rest Women. The Women made first their homage, and then the Men. The Men were turned nine times widdershins about, and the Women six times. John Fien blew up the Doors and blew in the Lights, which were like mickle black Candles sticking round about the Pulpic. The Cevil startit up himself in the Pulpic

pulpit li Here. hirdie g should I Rowar, demand Servant they ha three C and to Neise, Agnes Toynts upon powde dit the all the his Br before were

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Pulpit like a mickle black Man, and every one answered Here. Mr. Robert Greirson being named, they all ran hirdie girdie, and were angry: for it was promited he should be called Robert the Comptroller, a ias Rob the Rowar, for expriming of his name. The first thing he demandit was, if they keept all promise, and been good Servants, and what they had done fince the last time they had convened. At his command they opened up three Graves, two within, and ane without the Kirk, and took off the Joints of their Fingers, Toes, and Neise, and parted them amongst them: and the said Agnes Sympson got for her part a Winding-sheet and two Joynts. The Devil commandit them to keep the Joynts upon them while they were dry, and then to make a powder of them to do evil withal. Then he commandit them to keep his Commandments, which were to do all the evil they could. Before they departed they kifs'd his Breech; the Record speaks more broad, as I noted before. He had on him ane Gown and ane Hat, which were both black: and they that were assembled, part flood and part fate: John Fien was ever nearest the Devil at his left Elbock, Graymaill keeped the door.

I have retained the Scotch Dialect here also, for the more Authentickness of the matter, and have adjoined this large Paragraph, the Confession therein contained being in all probability a more special occasion of King James his changing his opinion touching the Existence of Witches, which he was, as is reported, inclinable to think to be but a mere conceit before. For he was then but young, not palling five or fix and twenty years of age when this Examination was had before him. And part of the Third Chapter of his Second Book of his Demonologie feems to be a Transcript of this very Confession. Wherefore this being fo confiderable an occurrence touching a business of such moment, the bringing in here so old a Story amongst those of fresher memory, will, I

hope, bring along with it its own excuse.

Thus have we contrived all the Relations in Mr. Glan-

vil's Papers which were thought confiderable, into this Second Part of his Saducismus Triumphatus. He once intended to Subjoyn thereto an Answer to Webster, Was. staff, and the Authour of the Doctrine of Devils, as you may observe from the first Section of his Proof of Apple ritions, &c. from holy Scripture : but partly by bringing in already the chief things in that rude draught begun, into what is here published, and partly by stating the Question truly and with right judgment, he has prevented himself and made that labour needless. in a manner it ever was, their Objections against Mr. Glanvil's Opinion on these points, being wondrous weak, forry, and fophistical, and such as it were pity that any Man of Parts, who can bestow his time better, should iquander it away in confuting such trifles.

There is nothing that makes any least shew of strength, but that touching the palpability of the confiftency of the Bodies of the Familiars of Witches, as if it weakned our Saviour's Argument to his Disciples for his Resurrection, where he bids them handle him and fee, for a Spirit has not flesh and bones as they see him have. And he bids Thomas thrust his Hand into his Side, that they might be fure he was no Spectre or Spirit, but the very Christ with his Flesh, Bloud, and Bones, as he had before his Crucifixion; and they were as well ascertained of this, as fense, nay the furest sense, that of a Touch, or Feeling, could make them, that he had really Flesh and Bones, and fuch a temperament as humane Bodies have. Nor can any cavil avail against this from the Familiars of Witches, that will not as well weaken the affurance that we converse with such or such a Friend, but with fome Spectre like him; So that the Allegation is as week as peevish and malicious. And if he should doubt whether it was his real Friend, or some Spectre, if his Friend should offer himself, as our Saviour did, to be touched, fearched and felt, would not any body think it were fufficient assurance? But for a perverse Caviller, or crazy Sceptick, what is it that will fatisfie them?

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But it may be well faid, that there be concomitant onfiderations that will affure the party it is his riend and not a Spectre. And are there not concomiant confiderations here also? The ancient Prophecies. nd Christ's own Prediction that he should rise from the ead out of the Grave. And that God is a God of truth. nd not of unfaithfulnels and imposture: Which affuance is of a more high and divine Tenour than that of eeling his Body. And therefore our Saviour faith to Thomas; THOMAS, because thou hast seen me thou hast elieved. Bleffed are they that have not seen and yet have elieved: For it is a fign that a more noble and heavenly principle is awakened in them, that dispels that thick Mist of Sceptical stupor and dulness. It is a sign they are of a more holy, pure, and refined temper. And besides all this, What Spectre ever challenged any one to make fuch a Trial as this, to feel whether he was not very Flesh and Bone as real Men are, when he would impose upon any? Or how is it proved, though Spirits can bring their Vehicle to a palpable confiftency, that they can turn it into fuch as shall feel of the same articulate palpabieness of Flesh and Bone, and Temperament that are in living Men? Till this appear by confest experience to be in the palpable confiftency of Familiars or Spirits that transact with Witches, the Allegation is infinitely weak upon that account also, as weak as spightful and perverse. But the Hag-Advocates will alledge any foolish thing rather than seem to be able to say nothing.

In the mean time I think it here seasonable to declare, that though this intended Edition of Saducismus Triumphatus had not the happiness to be persected by the ingenious Author's own hand before his death, yet such Materials he lest behind him, and the work in such a forwardness, that things being put together in that order and distinctness which they are, the Discourse may prove as useful for the reclaiming Men from Saducism, though perhaps not altogether so delightful, as if his own hand

nao

had had the polishing of it. And the publishing of will also do him that right in the eyes of the World that (whereas he was suspected haply for some complain fance towards some persons that were over-inclinable to Hobbianism, to have shrunk from the sense of such noble Theories, with which his Mind was enlightned in the Morning of his days) it from hence may appear that these things stuck close to him, and that he entertained them with a fincere warmth all along, as is evident from these Papers then private within his own Study-Walk As the profession of them broke out from him most expresly when he lay on his Death-bed; as his intimate Friend Mr. Thomas Alcock largely fets down in a Letter written to Dr. H. More. And I think that is the time. if ever that Men will speak their thoughts freely, as the Poet hath observed in the like case,

Nam vera voces tum demum pestore ab imo Ejiciuntur, & eripitur persona, manet res.

To this Sense, Then 'tis Men from their Hearts their Mind declare, Cast off their Vizards, shew their Faces bare.

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## Continuation

OF THE

## COLLECTION.

OR, AN

## ADDITION

Of some few

More Remarkable

AND

## TRUE STORIES

O F

Apparitions and Witchcraft.

By HENRY MORE, D.D.

Whereunto is added Mr. J. G. his Letter to Dr. H. M. touching the stirs of Tedworth; With his Reflections on Drollery and Atheism, and the Doctor's Advertisements thereon.

LONDON,
Printed for S. Lownds, MDC LXXXVIII.

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#### A

# Continuation OF THE COLLECTION.

#### RELAT. I.

ATranscription of a Narrative, out of the Natural History of Oxfordshire, of the strange Passages that happened at Woodstock, Anno 1649. When the Commissioners for surveying the Mannor-House, Park, Deer, Woods, and other Demesns belonging to that Mannor, sate and lodged there.

HE Commissioners October 13. 1649. with their Servants being come to the Mannor-House, they took up their Lodging in the King's own Rooms, the Bed-Chamber, and Withdrawing-Room: the former whereof they also made their Kitchin, the Council-Hall their Brew-House, the Chamber of Presence their place of sitting to dispatch Business, and a Wood-house of the Dining-Room, where they laid the Wood of that ancient Standard in the High-Park, known of all by the name of the King's Oak, which (that nothing might remain that had the name of King assixed to it) they digged up by the Roots. October the 14th and 15th.

15th, they had little disturbance; but on the 16th there came, as they thought, somewhat into the Bed-Chamber, where two of the Commissioners and their Servant lay, in the shape of a Dog, which going under their Beds, did, as it were, gnaw their Bed-cords. But on the Morrow finding them whole, and a quarter of Bees, which lay on the ground untouched, they began to en-

tertain other thoughts.

October 17. Something to their thinking removed all the Wood of the King's Oak out of the Dining-Room into the Presence-Chamber, and hurled the Chairs and Stools up and down that Room. From whence it came into the two Chambers where the Commissioners and their Servants lay, and hoysted up their Beds Feet & much higher than the Heads, that they thought they should have been turned over and over; and then let them fall down with fuch a force, that their Bodies rebounded from the Bed a good distance, and then shook the Bedsteads so violently, that themselves confest their Bodies were fore with it. October 18. Something came into the Bed-Chamber and walkt up and down, and fetching the Warming-Pan out of the Withdrawing-Room, made fo much noise that they thought five Bells could not have made more. And October 19. Trenchers were thrown up and down the Dining-Room, and at them that lodged there, whereof one of them being being shaken by the shoulder, and awakened, put forth his head to fee what was the matter, but had Trenchers thrown at it.

October 20. The Curtains of the Bed in the Withdrawing-Room were drawn to and fro, and the Bedstead much shaken, and eight great Pewter-Dishes, and three dozen of Trenchers thrown about the Bed-chamber again. This night they also thought whole arm-fuls of the Wood of the King's Oak thrown down in their Chambers, but of that in the Morning they found nothing thed

thing had been moved.

Ollober 21. The Keeper of their Ordinary and his Bitch,

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Bitch, lay in one of the Rooms with them, which night they were not disturbed at all. But October 22. though the Bitch kennel'd there again, to whom they afcribed their former nights rest, both they and the Bitch were in a pitiful taking, the Bitch opening but once, and that with a whining fearful Yelp. October 23. They had all their Clothes pluckt off them in the Withdrawing Room, and the Bricks fell out of the Chimney into the Room; and the 24th they thought in the Dining-Room that all the Wood of the King's Oak had been brought thither, and thrown down close by their Bedfide: which Noise being heard by those of the Withdrawing-Room, one of them rose to see what was done. fearing indeed that his fellow Commissioners had been killed, but found no fuch matter: whereupon returning to his Bed again, he found two dozen of Trenchers thrown into it, and handsomely covered with the Bedclothes.

October 25. The Curtains of the Bed in the Withdrawing-Room were drawn to and fro, and the Bedstead shaken as before, and in the Bed-Chamber Glass slew about so thick (and yet not a Pane of the Chamber windows broken) that they thought it had rained Money. Whereupon they lighted Candles, but to their Grief they found nothing but Glass. October 29 Something walked in the Withdrawing-Room about an Hour, and going to the Window, opened and shut it; then going into the Bed-chamber, it threw great Stones for about half an hours time, some whereof lighted on the Highbed, others on the Truckle-bed, to the number in all of above fourscore. This night there was also a very great Noise, as if forty Pieces of Ordnance had been shot off At two feveral Knocks it aftonished all the together. neighbouring Dwellers, which is thought might have been heard a greater way off. During these Noises, which were heard in both Rooms together, both Commissioners and Servants were struck with so great horrour that they cried out to one another for Help: whereof Hh

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one of them recovering himself out of a strange Agony he had been in, snatcht up a Sword, and had like to have killed one of his Brethren coming out of his Bed in his Shirt, whom he took for the Spirit that did the mischief. However, at length they got all together, yet the noise continued so great and terrible, and shook the Walls so much, that they thought the whole Mannor would have fallen on their heads. At its departure

it took all the Glass away with it.

November 1. Something, as they thought, walkt up and down the Withdrawing-Room, and then made a noise in the Dining-Room. The Stones that were left before, and laid up in the Withdrawing-Room, were all fetcht away this night, and a great deal of Glass (not like the former) thrown about again. November 2. came fomething into the Withdrawing-Room, tread. ing, as they conceived, much like a Bear, which first only walked about a quarter of an hour; at length it made a noise about the Table, and threw the Warming Panso violently, that it quite spoiled it. It threw also Glass, and great Stones at them again, and the Bones of Horses, and all so violently, that the Bed-stead and Walls were bruised by them. This night they set Candles all about the Rooms, and made Fires up to the Mantletrees of the Chimneys, but all were put out, no body knew how, the Fire and Billets, that made it, being thrown up and down the Rooms, the Curtains torn with the Rods from their Beds, and the Bed-posts pulled away, that the Tester fell down upon them, and the feet of the Bed-stead cloven in two. And upon the Servants in the Truckle-bed, who lay, all this time, sweating for fear, there was first a little, which made them begin to ftir, but before they could get out, there came a whole Cowl, as it were, of stinking Ditch-water down upon them, so green, that it made their Shirts and Sheets of that colour too.

The same night the Windows were all broke, by throwing of Stones, and there were most terrible noises ony

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in the three feveral places together, to the extraordinary wonder of all that lodged near them; nay, the very Coney-stealers, that were abroad that night, were so affrighted with the dismal thundring, that for haste they left their Ferret in the Coney-burroughs behind them, beyond Rosamond's Well. Notwithstanding all this, one of them had the boldness to ask, in the name of God, what it was, what it would have, and what they had done that they should be disturbed in this manner? To which no Answer was given, but the noise ceased for a while. At length it came again, and, as all of them faid, brought feven Devils worse than it self. Whereupon one of them lighted a Candle again, and fet it between the two Chambers, in the Door-way, on which another of them fixing his eyes, faw the similitude of a Hoof, striking the Candle and Candle-stick into the middle of the Bed-Chamber, and afterwards making three scrapes on the snuff to put it out. Upon this, the same Person was so bold as to draw his Sword; but he had scarce got it out, but there was another invisible hand had hold of it too, and tugged with him for it, and prevailing, ftruck him fo violently with the Pummel, that he was stunned with the Blow.

Then began grievous noises again, insomuch, that they calling to one another, got together, and went into the Presence-Chamber, where they said Prayers, and sang Psalms, notwithstanding all which, the thundring noise still continued in other Rooms. After this, November they removed their Lodgings over the Gate, and next day, being Sunday, went to Ewelin, where how they escaped, the Authors of the Relations knew not; but returning on Monday, the Devil (for that was the name they gave their nightly Guest) left them not unvisited, nor on the Tuesday following, which

was the last day they itayed.

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THAT the matter of Fact is true we have all assurance desirable, from what the Writer of the Natural History of Oxfordshire, declares before he comes to the Narrative it self, viz. That he had several Relations put into his hands, and one of them written by a learned and faithful Person then living upon the place. Which was confirmed to him by several Eye-witnesses of many of the particulars, and all of them by one of the Commissioners themselves, who ingenuously confest to him, that he could not deny but that what was written by that Person abovementioned, was all true. So that for matter of Fact there can be no doubt. Onely the Historian makes a Scrupu, which is much according to the Mode of this Age, whether all these Pranks might not be plaid by Combination. It being a gentile thing, and much in the fashion, not to seem over credulous that any such things are done by any Dæmons or Spirits. Yet the nature of some of these Exploits here mentioned, extorts a Confession from him, even whether he will or no, that they are not reconcileable to Juggling.

Such, says he, are (1.) the extraordinary noises beyond the power of Man to make without such instruments at were not there. (2.) The tearing down and splitting the Bed-posts, and putting out so many Candles, and so great Fires, no body knows how. (3.) A visible shape seen of an Horse's Hoof treading out a Candle. And (4.) a tugging with one of them for his Sword by an invisible Hand. By which, I suppose, is meant an unperceptible hand. For the hand must needs be invisible, the Candle being put out in that season of the year. But it was such an hand as if the Candle had been light, could not have been seen. For smuch as though he felt in the dark that tugging for his sword, he could not feel or lay hold on the hand or arm, or any part of any palpable person

Person that tugged with him. This may be said if this tugging for his Sword was far in the Night, about or past Midnight; but if it was earlier in the Night, the Party might have seen the Hand that tugged for the Sword, if it had not been a hand of its own Nature invisible: For the Moon was then at least seven or eight days old, if I compute right out of the second Ptolemaick Tables in N. Mulerius.

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The se indeed are the most material Arguments to prove that all here was not Juggling or Combination. And indeed how could it be a Combination, when as the Story runs upon one Person all along calling it the Thing or Something? So that it seems all to be performed by one Person or Power. Besides, those Artists in Waggery, how could they train up a Dog to gnaw Bed cords, and forbear eating of Beef, when it lay fo fairly for him on the Floor? And what an operose Business, and how little worth the while for any single Person to remove all the Wood of the King's Oak out of one Room into another? and more unlikely that he could make such a noise, as if he did it, when he did it not. And the flinging of Trenchers and Stones in such Numbers near Men, and hurting none by them, seems to me not probable to be within the Skill of an ordinary Man to perform; as also to make such a Noise as if whole Arm-fulls of the King's Oak were flung down by their Bed sides on the Floor of their Chamber, whereas not one stick was found to be cast there.

The whining also and fearful Yelp of the Bitch, was a shrewd sign of the Approach not of an ordinary Man, but of some evil Thing, as the vulgar call it. And what a skilful Wag must be be that could imitate so the gate of a Bear as if such a Beast was come into the Room; or have such strength as to cleave the Feet of a Bed-stead into two, without Axe or Saw? And did these Wags so combine, as some to set Ladders to climb to the top of the Chimney, to sling down Bricks, while others play'd other Tricks in the Chamber? The whole Texture in a manner of the Story is such, that it argues the things not done by Combination and Waggery, but by the Frolick Astivity of some Spirits or Dæmons.

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And to conclude; how exceeding improbable is it that the Parties in the House, after they had been twice or thrice molested, would not make their Doors so fast that no Man could come at them, and that they were not so well weaponed, that no Man single would venture his Person only to play a many odd Tricks and Frolicks to terrifice them and scare them, who though he escaped being killed upon the spot, might be apprehended and severely punished, they having got the Power on their side, though not the Right, whatever Mr. Hobbs may judge in these Cases.

Wherefore it is manifest that these Pranks were play'd by Dæmons, as that learned Physician Dr. Willis, a good many years ago didreadily acknowledge to me, and avouched such things as are here related in the Story to be undoubtedly true, when I had the Opportunity of conversing with him at my Lord Conway's at Ragly in Warwickshire.

#### RELAT. II.

Another Transcription out of the forementioned History, of a strange Relation touching the Family of one Captain Wood, late of Bampton, now Brize-norton, Captain in the late Wars for the King, What strange Knockings used to be heard a little before the Death of those of that Family.

The first Knocking that was heard, or at least observed, was about a year after the Restauration of the King, in the afternoon, a little before Night, as it was apprehended by Mrs. Elenor Wood, Mother to Captain Basil Wood, who only heard it, none being then by, or about the House, but her self; at which she was very much disturbed, thinking it boded some ill to her or hers, and within sourteen Nights after she had news of the Death of her Son-in-Law Mr. George Smith, who died in London.

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About three years after that, there were three great Knocks given very audibly to all that were then in the House, viz. to the foresaid Mrs. Elenor Wood, Mr. Bafil Wood, and his Wife Mrs. Hefter, and some Servants. Which Knocks were so remarkable that one of the Maids came from the Well which was about twenty Yards from the Place, to fee what was the matter. And Mrs. Elenor Wood, and another Maid that was within the House, saw three great Pans of Lard shake and totter so upon a shelf in the Milkhouse, that they were like to fall down. Upon this violent Knocking Mr. Basil Wood, and his Wife, being then in the Hall, came prefently into the Milkhouse to their Mother; where finding her somewhat disturbed, and enquiring the Reason, the replied, God Almighty only knew the Matter, the could tell nothing; but she heard the Knocking; which being within doors, Mr. Basil Wood concluded must be for fome of the Family at home, that upon the Door being for a Friend abroad. Which accordingly fell out, three of the Family, according to the Number of the Knocks, dying within little more than half a year after, viz. Mrs. Hester Wood, Wife to Mr. Basil Wood, a Child of Mr. Wood's Sifter, and Mrs. Elenor Wood, his Mother.

About August 1674. Mr. Basil Wood Junior, Son of Basil aforesaid, living at Exeter in Devonshire, heard the same kind of Knocking; at which being disturbed, he wrote word of it to his Father here at Bampton in Oxfordshire, viz. That on Sunday he and his Wife, and her Sister, and his Brother, did distinctly hear upon a Table in their Chamber, as they stood by it, two several Knocks, struck as it were with a Cudgil, one of them before, and the other after Morning-Prayer, a little before Dinner, which Letter was shewn by Mr. Wood Senior (as the other Knockings before the Deaths of any that died were beforehand told) to several neighbouring Gentlemen. After which, within about Fourteen days, Mrs. Hester Wood the second Wife of Mr. Basil H h 4

Wood Senior, and about a quarter of a Year after, her Father Mr. Richard Liffer, died both at Bampton, fince which time they have heard nothing as yet.

## Advertisement.

THese prognostick Signs before the Death of Some Men. is a thing noted by Historians, and Philosophers; which are made sometimes by some Apparition of some deceased Person of the same Family, or by some other Spectre, Sometimes by an audible Voice, calling the Party by Name; which I heard to have happened to some Seamen upon the Sea; Sometime by Musick, as I heard credibly reported of a whole Family that died one after another in a little time; and ever some while before any of the House fell sick; there was Mufick heard to go from the House (though nothing seen) play. ing all along, which several People out of curiosity would follow, who observed it to pass through the Field till it came to a Wood, and there they left it or lost it This happened in Suffolk, and was told for a certain to a Friend of mine, by Mr. Samfon, not long since Fellow of King's Colledge here in Cambridge. Sometimes the Appearance of Lights presages the Death of some of a Family, and the number according to the number of the Lights. Which happened a very few years ago to a Family of great Quality in Ireland, three Lights dancing upon a place they call Fairy Mount. I spoke with one that was a Spectator thereof for half an hour together, and observed the Lights, though moved swiftly, how their Flames were not cast Horizontally, but went straight up to the Zenith, who noted also, that two of the Family, since that Sign, were lately dead already, and suspected a third would follow, which accordingly fell out the same year a little while after. The Story I have fet down more compleatly in my Scholia upon Chap 8. Book 3. of my Immortality of the Soul. So that this hint is enough here.

Paracelsus, that fanciful Physician imputes all to the officiousness of the Stars, that give these Signs. But what

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Ream of a Star could give such a Rap upon a Table, as is ecorded to have happened in Captain Wood's Family? Cerainly these things cannot be done but by the Astivity of Demons or Spirits. And this present Example is as instrutive, or more than any of the strange Statick or Systaltick Power that Spirits have to give such a momentany sirmness and hardness to their Vehicles as to make such a smart Noise is if it were made with Wood or Metal. But it is not my scope to philosophize here about these things, but only to tell the Stories. And there is a Passage in the sollowing Story shall set down, which is an eminent example of this Systal-ick Power of the Spirits, viz. an Arm seen from the Hand to the Elbow striking such a stroak upon the Floor, that it made the very Walls of the Houseto shake with it.

#### RELAT. III.

A remarkable Story touching the Stirs made by a Dæmon in the Family of one Gilbert Campbell, by Profeson a Weaver, in the old Parish of Glenluce in Galloway in Scotland.

T happened in October, 1654. that after one Alexander Agnew, a bold and sturdy Beggar, who afterwards was hanged at Dumfreis, for Blasphemy, had threatned hurt to Gilbert Campbell's Family, because he had not gotten such an Alms as he required; the said Gilbert was oftentimes hindred in the exercise of his Calling, all his Working Instruments being, some of them broken, some of them cut, and yet could not know by what means this hurt was done. Which Piece of Trouble did continue till about the middle of November; at which time the Devil came with new and extraordinary Assaults, by throwing of Stones in at Doors and Windows, and down through the Chimney head, which were of great quantity, and thrown with great force, yet by God's good Providence there was not one Person

Person of the Family hurt or suffered damage thereby. This Piece of new and fore trouble did necessitate Mr. Campbell to reveal that to the Minister of the Parish. and to some other Neighbours and Friends which hither. to he had endured fecretly. Yet notwithstanding this his trouble was enlarged; for not long after he found oftentimes his Warp and Threads cut as with a pair of Scizzers, and the Reed broken; and not only this, but their Apparel cut after the same manner, even while they were wearing them, their Coats, Bonnets, Hole, Shoes, but could not differn how or by what means. Only it pleased God to preserve their Persons, that the least harm was not done. Yet in the night time they wanted liberty to fleep, fomething coming and pulling their Bedclothes and Linnens off them, and leaving their Bodies naked.

Next, their Chests and Trunks were opened, and all things in them strewed here and there. Likewise the parts of the working Instruments, that had escaped, were carried away and hid in holes and bores of the House, where hardly they could be found again. Nay, whatever piece of cloth or Houshould-stuff was in any part of the House, it was carried away, and so cut and abufed, that the Good-man was necessitated with all haste and speed to remove and transport the rest to a neighbour's House, and he himself compelled to quit the exercife of his Calling, whereby only he maintained his Family. Yet he resolved to remain in the House for a Season. During which time some Persons thereabout, not very judicious, councelled him to fend his Children out of the Family here and there (to try whom the Trouble did most follow, assuring him that this Trouble was not against all the Family, but against some one Person or other in it) whom he too willingly obeyed. Yet for the space of four or five Days after, there were no remarkable Assaults as before.

The Minister hearing thereof, shewed him the evil of such a course, and assured him, that if he repented

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not, and called back his Children, he might not expect that his trouble would end in a right way. The Children that were nigh by, being called home, no trouble followed, till one of his Sons, called Thomas, that was farthest off, came home. Then did the Devil begin afresh; for upon the Lord's Day following, in the afternoon, the House was set on fire, but by his Providence, and the help of some people going home from Sermon, the Fire was extinguished, and the House say again set on fire, upon the Tuesday, about nine of the Clock in the morning; yet by Providence, and the help of Neighbours, it was sayed before any harm was done.

Mr. Campbell being thus wearied and vexed, both in the day, and in the night, went to the Minister, desiring him to let his Son Thomas abide with him for a time, who condescended, but withal affured him that he would find himself deceived, and so it came to pass. For notwithstanding that the Child was without the Family, yet were they that remained in it fore troubled, both in the day time, and in the night feafon, fo that they were forced to wake till midnight, and sometime all the night over. During which time, the Persons within the Family suffered many losses, as the Cutting of their Cloaths, the throwing of Peats, the pulling down of Turf and Feal from the Roof and Walls of the House, and the stealing of their Apparel, and the pricking of their Flesh and Skin with Pins. bytery having convened at the place for a solemn Humiliation, perswaded Gilbert Campbell to call back his Son Thomas, notwithstanding whatsoever hazard might fol-The Boy returning home, affirmed that he heard a voice speak to him, forbidding him to enter within the House, or into any other place where his Father's Calling was exercised. Yet he entred, but was fore abused, till he was forced to return to the Minister's House again. Upon

Upon Monday the 12th. of February, the rest of the art fr Family began to hear a voice speak to them, but could not well know from whence it came. Yet from evening The C till midnight too much vain Discourse was kept up with be gir the Devil, and many idle and impertinent questions would proposed without that due fear of God that should have thee in been upon their Spirits under so rare and extraordinary for y a Tryal. The Minister hearing of this, went to the House upon the Tue day, being accompanied with some Gentlemen, who after Prayer was ended, hearda voice speaking out of the Ground, from under a Bed. in the proper Countrey Dialect, faying, Would you know the Witches of Glenluce, I will tell you them, and fo related four or five Persons names that went under an evil Report. The faid Gilbert informed the Company, that one of them was dead long ago. The Devil answered, It is true, the is dead long ago, yet her Spirit is living with us in the World. The Minister replyed, saying, The Lord rebuke thee, Satan, and put thee to silence, we are not to receive any information from thee, what soever fame any Persons go under; thou art but seeking to seduce this Family, for Satan's Kingdom is not divided against it felf.

After which, all went to Prayer again; which being ended (for during the time of Prayer no trouble was made) the Devi', with many threatnings, boafted and terrified the Lad Thomas, who had come back that day with the Minister, that if he did not depart out of the House, he would set all on fire. The Minister answered, and said, The Lord will preserve the House, and the Boy too, seeing he is one of the Family, and hath God's Warrant to tarry in it. The Devil answered, He shall not get liberty to stay, he was once put out already, and Shall not abide here, though I should pursue him to the end of the World. The Minister replyed, The Lord will

stop thy malice against him.

And then they all prayed again, which being ended, the Devil said, Give me a Spade and a Shovel, and de-

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of the art from the House for seven days, and I shall make a rening The Good Man answered No. 6 and I finall make a The Good Man answered, Not so much as a Straw shall with he given thee, through God's affiftance, even though that would do it. The Minister also added, God shall remove thee in due time. The Devil answered, I will not remove for you, I have my Commission from Christ to tarry and vex this Family. The Minister answered, A permission thou hast indeed, but God will stop it in due time. The Devil replyed, I have (Mes John) a Commission that perhaps will last longer than your own. After which the Minister and the Gentlemen arose, and went to the place where the Voice seemed to come from, to try if they could find any thing. And after diligent fearch, nothing being found, the Gentlemen began to fay, We think this voice speaks out of the Children, for some of them were in their Beds. The Devil answered, Tou lye, God shall judge you for Lying, and I and my Father will come and fetch you to Hell with Warlock Thieves. And so the Devil discharged the Gentlemen to speak any more; faying, Let him Speak that hath a Commission (meaning the Minister) for he is the Servant of God.

The Gentlemen returning back with the Minister, thy fate down near to the place whence the Voice feemed to come from, and then he spake to them after this manner, The Lord will rebuke this Spirit in his own time, and cast it out. The Devil answering, said, It is written in the 9th of Mark the Disciples could not cast him out. The Minister replyed, What the Disciples could not do, yet the Lord having heightned the Parents Faith for his own Glory, did cast him out, and so shall be thee. The Devil reply'd, It is written in the 4th of Luke, And he departed and left him for a season. The Minister said, The Lord in the days of his Humiliation, not only got the Victory over Satan in that affault in the Wilderness, but when he came again, his success was no better. For it is written, John 14. Behold the Prince of this World cometh, and hath nothing in me. And being now in Glory, he will fulfil

fulfil his Promise, and God shall bruise Satan under jon me? Ph House a feet shortly, Rom. 16. The Devil answered, It is write Prayer. ten. Mat. 25. There were ten Virgins, five wife and for any ot foolift, and the Bridegroom came, The foolish Virgins ha Prayer no Oyl in their Lamps, and they went unto the wife to fee Good-n Oyl, and the wife said, Go and buy for your selves, and not pre while they went, the Bridegroom came and entred in, and prough the Door was hut; and the foolish Virgins were fent to He Gentl Fire. The Minister answered, The Lord knows the finhim b cerity of his Servants, and though there be sin and folly in and th us here, yet there is a fountain opened to the House of Da vid, for fin and for uncleanness; and when he hath washed us there, and pardoned all our fins for his name sake, he will cast the unclean Spirit out of the Land. The Devil answered, and said, That place of Scripture is written in the 13th of Zechariah. In that day I will cause the Prophets and the unclean Spirit to pass out of the Land; Bu afterwards it is written, I will smite the Shepherd, and the theep thall be fcattered. The Minister answered, Well are we that our Bleffed Shepherd was smitten, and thereby bath bruised thy head; and albeit, in the hour of his suffering, his Disciples for sook him, Mat. 26. yet now having ascended on high, he fits in glory, and is preserving, gathering in, and turning his hand upon his little ones, and will fave bu poor ones in this Family from thy Malice.

bidd The Minister returning back a little, and standing have upon the Floor, the Devil said, I knew not these Scrip-AiEt. tures till my Father taught me them. I am an evil Spirit, and Satan is my Father, and I am come to vex this Honse; and presently there appeared a naked Hand and an Arm, ing from the Elbow down, beating upon the Floor till the House did shake again, and also the Devil utter'd a most fearful and loud cry, faying, Come up, Father, come up, I will send my Father among you. See there he is behind cry Ho your backs. The Minister said, I saw indeed an hand and an arm when the stroak was given and heard. The Devil Chi faid to him, Saw you that, it was not my hand, it was my fo Father's, my hand is more black in the loof. Would you fee

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you me? put out the Candle then, and I shall come about the House among you like Fire-balls. After which all went to find Prayer, during which time it did no harm, neither at any other time when God was worshipped. When sure Prayer was ended, the Devil said, (Des son) If the Good-man's Son's Prayers at the Colledge of Glasgow did and not prevail more with God than yours, my Father and I had the wrought a Mischief here ere now. To which one of the Gentlemen tenlined though a Check had been Gentlemen replyed, though a Check had been given him before: Well, Well, I see you confess there is a God, and that Prayer prevails with him, and therefore we must way to God, and will commit the event to him. To which the Devil replied, Yea, Sir, you speak of Prayer with your broad-lipped Hat (for the Gentleman had lately gotten a new Hat in the Fashion with broad Lips) I will bring a the pair of Shears from my Father that shall clip the Lips of it a little.

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The night now being far spent, it was thought fit every one should withdraw to his own home. Then did the Devil cry out fearfully, Let not the Minister go home, I hall burn the House if he go, and many other ways did he del threaten. And after the Minister was gone forth, the Good-man being instant with him to tarry; thereupon he returned, all the rest of the Company going home.
Then said the Devil to the Minister, You have done my ing bidding. Not thine, answered he, but in obedience to God have I returned to bear this man company whom thou dost affirst. Then did the Minister call upon the Name of God; and when Prayer was ended, he discharged Mr. Campbell, and all the Persons of the Family from opening their Mouths in one word to the Evil Spirit; and when it spake, that they should only kneel down and speak to God. The Devil then roared mightily, and up, speak to God. The Devil then roared mightily, and cryed out, What will ye not speak to me, I shall burn the and House, I shall strike the Bairns, and do all manner of Miswil chief. But after that time no answer was made to it, and my fo for a long time no speech was heard. After this the faid Gilbert suffered much loss, and had many sad nights,

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not two nights in one Week free, and thus it continued till April. From April to July he had some respit and ease. But after he was molested with new Assaults and even their Victuals were so abused that the Family was in hazard of starving, and that which they did eat gave them not the ordinary satisfaction they were wont to find.

In this fore and fad Affliction, Mr. Campbel resolved to make his Address to the Synod of Presbyters for advice and counsel, what to do, which was appointed to convene in Octo, 1655. namely whether to for fake the House and Place, or not. The Synod by their Committee appointed to meet at Glenluce in Febr. 1656. thought fit that a folemn Humiliation should be kept through all the bounds of the Synod, and amongst other Causes, to request God in behalf of that poor afflicted Family; which being carefully done, the Event was, thorough the Prayers of his People, that his Trouble grew less till April and from April to August he was altogether free. About which time the Devil began with new Assaults, and taking the ready Meat that was in the House, did fometimes hide it in holes by the Door-Posts, and atother times did hide it under the Beds, and sometimes among the Bed-clothes, and under the Linnens, and a last did carry it quite away, till nothing was left there fare only Bread and Water to live by. After this he exercifed his Malice and Cruelty against all the Persons of the Family in wearying them in the night-time with stirring and moving through the House, so that they had no rell for Noise, which continued 'all the Month of August after this manner. After which time the Devil grew yet worse, and began with terrible Roarings and terrily. ing Voices, fo that no Person could sleep in the House's the Night time, and sometimes did vex them with casting of Stones, striking them with Staves on their Beds in the Night time; And upon the Eighteenth of September about Midnight, he cryed out with a loud Voice, I shall burn the House, and about three or four Nights after, tinuc

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he fet one of the Beds on Fire, which was soon extinguished, without any prejudice, except the Bed it self, and so he continued to vex them.

### Advertisement.

This Narrative I have in a manner verbatim Transcribed out of the Miscellaneous Observation of Mr.G. Sinclare, which are added to his Treatise of Hydrostaticks; Which nothing but the certainty of the truth thereof, and usefulness for the refuting of Saducism, could have tempted bim to insert, it being an Observation so Heterogeneous to all the rest. And therefore I thought it worth the while to reduce it into its more proper place, himself acknowledging it to be something un unsutable piece to the Contexture of the rest of his Book, but that he put it in, only to convince the incredulous World of the Existence of Spirits, whose being he conceives it does more than probably evince, that is to fay, demonstratively, supposing it true. Which that it is, the Narrative it self seems sufficiently to make good, the Stirs there made being fo long, and fo publick, and so repeatedly, and the things writ by Mr. Campbel's own Son who knew them exactly, and I have heard the truth of the Story averr'd with all assurance my self by some of that Country. And the Narration is so simple and plain, and without design, (it being rather a Colluctation of Mes John and the Presbytery on one side, and the foul Fiend, with his black Loofs, assisted by Satan his Father on the other side, than any clear Victory) that that also ought to gain belief thereto. Not to add that the very abruptness of its ending shews it to be fresh writ, while the thing was doing, and that meer Matter of Fact was the measure of the Writer's Pen.

I will conclude all with the Information of Dr. G. Burnet, that able and impartial Writer of the History of the Reformation in England, who upon my enquiry told me this, That

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he living in Glasgow some years, found all People there and in the Country about, fully perswaded of the truth i Matter of Fact, and that he never heard any thing objected to Mr. Sinclare's Relation, but that it was too short, when a all the passages of that Apparition would make a Volum and that there was a full Relation thereof attested under the hands of Eye-witnesses; And to be short, I have greater assurance of the truth of this Story than I think fit to declare, The most remarkable passage in the whole Narrative, is the naked Arm, from the Elbow downwards, appearing by it self, without any other parts of any visible Person, as the Chape of an Horse's Hoof in the first Story, without any other parts of an Horse. Which puts me in mind of the Apparitim Elkerken, which Wierus makes mention of in his De Prz. stigiis Dæmonum, that used to haunt the High-way in an heathy place not far from Embrica in the Dutchy of Cleve in the Lower-Germany. Nothing was feen but a meet Hand, which would beat Travellers as they passed that way, pull them off of their Horses, and overthrow Carriages.

As for the cutting and snipping of things, that is but what has happened more frequently to those that have been infested by Witchcraft. A notable example whereof a Ruverend and Learned Friend of mine told me in a Man's Daughter of North Cadbury in Somersetshire, that so some Months together, she could put on no clean Linnens not Holiday Cloths, but they would be snipt and slasht full of boles, as her Father for certain related of her to him. And of this snipping, besides the Narrative of Gilbert Campbel, there is a fresh Example of it in a Story within these thru or four years touching Witchcraft practised on the Family of William Medcalfe of Lessingham, (Sect. 12, 13, 18.)

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A true Account how Alice the Daughter of William Medcalfe Yeoman, in the Parish of Lessingham in Lincolnthire, was disturbed by an Apparition, with other feats of Witchcraft practifed upon that Family, fent from Mr. William Wyche dwelling in the Same Parish, to Mr. J. Richardson Fellow of Emanuel Colledge in Cambridge.

1. TN the Year 1678. on the Sunday after Twelfth-1 Day, William Medcalfe and his Wife went to Church, leaving their only Daughter Alice at home, and whilft they were there the faid Alice heard a noise in the Yard, and looking out at the Window, the faw a Man of a middle Stature, with Light Flaxen-Hair, standing at the Stable-Door, upon which she called out at the Window, and demanded of him what he did there? He returned, that he came for a Horse which he borrowed of her Father. She made him answer again, that she knew nothing of it, and that he should have none till her Father came home. He received the answer, and went away for that day.

2. The next day her Father and Mother being gone to Sleeford-Market, the faw him again at the Stable-Door, and demanded of him as before. He told her, She might go look. Then he asked her where the Horses were. She answered him again as short, told him, He might go look. Upon this he began to sooth and flatter her, and gave her many softening words going towards the Door as he spake, as if he intended to go in to her: which she observing, she hastened and bolted the Door fast. Upon which he threatned her, (what his Threats were the cannot recal) but some body knocking at the Door on the other fide of the loufe, and she understanding it was a Neighbour, opened the Door, and told her Neighbour all that had passed, and upon it they both ran

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ran together into the Yard, to see if he were there but they could not find him, neither knew they which

way he went.

3. After this she was quiet for some time, only about two Weeks before Shrove-tide, one Follet a Cobler, and suspected to be the occasion of all that happened came to the House, and they did set him to work moved thereto, I suppose, by fear, for he had threat ned the Daughter, but for what I cannot learn. While he was working he began to discourse to the Mothern this effect, that her Daughter should die that year that he had examined some Books which he had, and that he understood so much by them. And when he had done his work, he bid them farewel, telling them, He was sure they would think of Follet when they did not fee him. Soon after this, Alice fell fick, and he Mother was somewhat doubtful of her Recovery, but as it pleased God, she was restored again to her former health, and continued undiffurbed till May, the Weet before Whit suntide.

4. And then as she was drawing Water at a Well in the Yard, she saw the same Person again, which I find described, at the House Door, with a great Club, et deavouring, as she thought, to break the Door open Upon this she called to him, and askt him what he de Upon the speaking he flung down the Clu among a great many Earthen Milk-pans, or Panching as they call them, and with fo great violence, that it could not conceive but that he had broken many them, but afterwards upon examination the found then all whole. As foon as he had done this he went away and she, leaving her Pail at the Well, followed him and faw him go down the Street, but at the turning of the Lane lost the fight of him, and could not reco This was on Monday, and the faw him ever day that Week, but nothing passed between them, and feveral times the called her Father out, that he migh fee him, but he never could.

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5. On Saturday he appeared to her in a more dread here. ful manner at the Hall-Window. When the faw him: which the askt him what his business was there. He told her he would speak with her. She askt him what he had to by, and defired him to speak it, but he faid, he would not yet tell her. Then he shewed her a Knife, and told her it was for her. She askt him then whether he had a mind to be hanged, and this was all that passed between them then. On the Sunday she saw him again run by the window, with a Knife in his hand, as before, and the told her Father and Mother of it, and they both ran out, but could not fee him. On the Monday, whilft the was Milking, the faw him with his Knife, as before; and thus he often afterwards appeared to her, especially at the Parlour-Window, having opened it (which had not, they think, been opened for many years before) and holding a Knife, only fometimes it was a horter, and fometimes a longer, but always bloudy, and fo was the hand that held it.

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6. In the Week also before Whit suntide, one Richard Cosins, a Youth about 18 or 19 years old, and then living with Good-man Medcalfe, and now most commonly working for Sir William York, having heard Alice describe this Man, which she so often faw, as he was walking towards Rocksome, a little place belonging to Leffingham Parish, he met a Man which he thought to be very like the Man which the described. He went home and told his Master, upon which he and his Daughter walkt out that way, to fee if they could meet him. They were not gone far, but the Daughter faw him, and told her Father, and pointed which way he went, that he might fee him, but still as he went one way to see him, the Daughter presently saw him go the contrary way, so that he never could obtain the fight

of him. 7. Once coming from Milking she had a good Club in her hand, and he met her, and asked her what she did with that Club. She being more than ordinary

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couragious,

couragious, told him, she had a good mind to lay it about his Pate. He made her no answer but went away.

8. Another time in July, as near as they can remember, Abice made her a Mels of Frumenty for her Break! fast; it was made, as she tells me, of New Milk, which I take hotice of because of what follows. As foon as the had begun to eat it, the formentioned Follet came to the Door, and asked whether they had any Shoes to mend: the told him the thought they had (though indeed the knew of none, but spake it out of fear) but that her Eather and Mother being gone out, she knew not where they were. So he went away, and she returned, defigning to fall again to her Breakfaft, but found it turned to a hard Curd. At which she was much furprifed, and refolved to fet it by to flew her Father and Mother; but she had no sooner turn'd her back but the Dish danced about on the Table, till it felt on the ground, and spilt all in the Floor, which a Neighbour's Dog, as they thought, coming in, lickt up. The fame day, as the was raking Hay, the was taken Lame, and continued fo a quarter of a year.

o. After this she was quiet again for a while, and the next time she saw him was when going behind the Bam upon some occasion, she espied him standing at some distance from her, and a sudden blast of Wind took her Hat from off her Head, and carried it to his Feet; but she was not much daunted at it, but ran to him and took

it up, and then he disappeared.

10. One Sunday, in the middle of all her troubles, as the was stooping to take up a Pin, he appeared to her, and told her, that Follet was the cause of all her

troubles, and so left her.

It. Hitherto I have given you as exact an Account as I could get from them as to the time. That which follows, I fet down without observing the circumstance of time or order of action, because I can learn no certainty of it from them, but the matter of Fact is truth.

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12. Often when they were gone to Bed, the inner Doors were flung open, as also the Doors of a Cupboard which stood in the Hall, and this with a great deal of violence and noise. And one night the Chairs, which when they went to Bed, stood all in the Chimney Corner, were removed and placed in the middle of the Room in very good order, and a Meal-fieve hung upon one, cut full of holes, and a Key of an inner Door upon another. And in the day time, as they fate in the House, fpinning, they could fee the Barn-Doors often flung open, but not by whom. Once, as Alice fate fpinning, the Rock or Dislaffleapt several times out of the Wheel into the middle of the Room. Upon which she said she thought Follet was in it. She had no fooner faid the words, but the faw Follet ride by to Sir William York's House, about some business with him relating to him as a lustice.

away, and a good while after brought again, and feveraltimes other of her Cloths were taken away, and after fome time brought again, and laid in some place where they should be sure to see them. As two Pinners which had been lost some time, were brought and put in a Panchin which Goodwife Medcalfe had but newly poured the Milk out of. An Apron was taken away, cut in pieces, and brought again, as also a Spiggot which they searched carefully for was brought at last and placed upon five Eggs which Goodwife Medcalfe had laid in the Milk-House but the night before; and the next night this Spiggot was changed, put into the Barrel, and that which was in the Barrel laid where the other

14. About the latter end of the Summer, in the night, the Daughter had her Cloths pull'd off, and her Hair snarled and matted together in that manner, that the next day her Mother could very hardly get a pair of Scizzers into it to cut it off; and she does believe she was near two hours about it.

15. Ano-

15. Another time she felt and saw something like otell the a Cat, sitting upon her, and till it removed she was out in a

in pain, and could not stir to help her self.

again, as she thought, a Cat which did sly at her, and struck her down several times with great violence, of which her face, which was much swelled and black, was no small indication.

17. Once she found a Note wrapped up in an Handkerchief, with these words written in it, I would have you go from — After she had read it, she lockt it up in her Trunk, designing to shew it to her Father and Mother when they came home (for they were gone to Church) but when she went to look for it again, it was gone out of her Trunk, and she never saw it

any more.

18. The last thing that happened was this, one Saturday night Alice going to Bed, laid a clean Shist in her Bed, intending to put it on the next morning; but in the morning looking for it, she could not find it. The next night she borrowed one of her Mother, and laid that also in her Bed, as before. In the morning, when she went to put it on, it did not please her, whereupon she gave it to her Mother, desiring her to change it; the Mother took it to change, and opening it, found it cut and slashed in many places, and they are both very certain that it was whole before. And the same morning when they came into the Hall, they found the other, which was first taken away, laid upon the Table.

19. Some odd Freaks were plaid also with the Father, as well as with his Daughter. For Goodman Medcalfe having received Eight pounds, at Sleeford, for Beasts, and when he came home, put it into a Purse by it self, and locked it up in his Chest; and a Day or two after, taking some Money out of another Purse, to buy more Beasts; when he returned, having some Money lest, he went to his Chest, to put it into the Purse he took it out of, and afterwards began

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otell that Money which he received at Sleeford, and had out in a Purse by it self, and found that there was serenteen Shillings wanting; and some days after, he ound fixteen Shillings and Six-pence of it in his Pockt. So that there was only Six-pence lost.

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20. And another such like seat was it touching his Knise. One Friday having occasion to use his Knise, he selt in his Pockets for it, but could not find it, and searched carefully every where for it. On Sunday night he dreamed his Knise was in his Pocket, and in the morning told his Wise of it, and they both immediately searched his Pockets, but sound mone. Afterwards, he being to go to Sleeford that day, he was seeling in his Pocket to see what Money he had, or upon some other account, and then he sound his Knise in his Pocket.

### Advertisement.

THIS Story, though it contain nothing in it that I makes any extraordinary show or noise, yet it is considerable, in that it is so notable an Instance, and so freshly happened, touching the little filly sportings and triflings of some kind of Damons, and will serve to confute that vulgar miftake, that what soever is called Spirit or Devil, is so Great and August a Being, that no small matters can be the Object of his Activity, whenas, I must confess, comparing Story with the System of the Invisible World, such as a sagacious and deliberate Reafon would conclude it, I have this long time both thought it, and not a few times spoke it, That there are as arrant Fools out of the Body, as in the Body: and I wish there were not as arrant Devils in the Body as out of it. And therefore I hold this Narrative, though it be concerning meaner Persons, and things not at all despicable, especially Mr. Wyche, who took an account of it from the parties upon the very spot, avouching in his Letters to Mr. Richardson, that there is nothing contained therein but what is certainly true. And therefore I think it not amiss to bestow some few short Notes on several of the Pa-

ragraphs in order as they lie.

Sect. 1. This Man in the light flaxen bair feems to have been taken for a real Man by Alice, to whom he appeared, for a good while. But in process of the Story, it will be plain that it was no Man, but an Apparition This appearing to her in an alluring humane shape (as Lendale's Wife, who was hanged for a Witch here at Cambridge, on Jesus Green, caused a Spirit or Dæmon to appear to her Maid in the shape of a proper Yeoman-like Man, and sollicited her to marry him, driving on the bufiness a long time, as the Maid confessed to a learned Friend of mine, and my self) this appearing, I say, in this shape, seems to be a trick to familiarise his converse to her, that he might get her into a further snare. Whether such as Lendale's Wife intended, I leave to others to conjecture

Sect. 3. Whether Follet's threatning the Daughter was not from his displeasure against her uncompliableness with the Man in the light flaxen hair, the tenth Section will give more light to consider, compared with this present Se-Etion. But in the mean time it may not be un seasonable here to note, what danger there may be in listening to Astrologers or Fortune-tellers (for fo this Follet is called by an able Physician in Lincolnshire, in his Letter to me.) For a Man may easily suffer burt if they predict ill, by the Activity of evil Spirits with whom they are some how in Confederacy, and with whom it is a thousand times more easie to do mischief than good, and therefore they will not stick to do it, to gain credit to their Client, viz. the Astrologer or For-

tuneteller.

Sect. 4. The flaxen hair'd Man flinging down his Club with that violence amongst the Panchins, and yet breaking none of them, nor it making any noise when it seemed to hit among st them (as it was answered to my Query made touching this passage) is an indication, that this was to the sight

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Let what that monstrous thumping against the Door in the following Story, Sect. 9. was to the hearing. That the Senses in ink is worth were in a great measure imposed upon by the operation Pa. of these Dæmons. And that therefore here is the first hint of this flaxen hair'd Man's being an Apparition. ther is also contained in this same Section. In that her Father being several times called out by her to see this Man, he never could see him, though he appeared so conveniently placed as that her Father might as well fee him as her felf, as the answered to Mr. Wyche, upon my Query about that Paffage.

. Sect. 5. His so frequently appearing to the Maid, as is manifest out of this Section and the former, and with such an horrid Intention signified by his bloudy Knife and Hand, though the Maid by her answer here seems not yet to be aware of it that it was an Apparition; yet tis no contemptible argument that it was. For what Man in his Wits would venture himself so oft in view to act this Part. And it is bugely incredible but that he would have been feen by several others as well as her, if it had been a Man, when he was seen of none besides her, saving one Rich. Cosins, who belonged to William Medcalfe's Family, as is fet down, Sect. 6. Which seems done on purpose to put a Trick upon both the Daughter and Father, whom he dodged when be came out from home to fee him, as that Section declares.

Sect. 7. This Passage also intimates that the Daughter took this Apparition to be a real Man still. But that there was Witchcraft in the Business, the Story in Sect. 8. does manifestly discover. For I making a Query upon that Pas-Sage Sthat she had no sooner turned her Back, but the Dish danced about on the Table ] how the could fee it her back being turned, she did answer, she turned about, (hearing, Suppose the Noise of its motion on the Table) and there saw it turn about and fall. The turning her Frumenty also into an hard Curd, is another indication of Witchery in the Business, and that this Spectre of a flaxen hair'd Man was sent to her by that Art. But (Section the 9th) she seems to be well convinced it was an Apparition, her self declaring, it disappeared.

disappeared (though commonly, she said, in answer to a Query of mine, he went behind (some House, Barn, Wall, or Hedge) and he seems (Sect. 10.) to have appeared on a sudden when she stooped for a Pin. And if Follet was the cause of all her trouble, this Dæmon did as other Dæmons often have done, that is, betrayed their Clients. But the Law can proceed upon no such Evidence, nor is it sit it

should, for fear injury be done to the innocent.

But that William Medcalfe's bouse was baunted or infested by Witchcraft, the Pranks set down in the following Sections of the Narrative do plainly enough evince. And that of the Daughter's Lockard hair is such an argument as no one can possibly evade it. But to entangle things thus is an usual Feat of these ludicrous Spirits. And this reminds me of a Story told me by W. M. many years ago, of an House haunted somewhere in Lincolnthire, where it was usual with these Goblins in a Room unfurnisht, unless with the Lumber of broken Chairs and Stools, and old Bed steads (in which Room they hung up their Hanks of Yarn against the Wall) to wind all this Yarn on those old Pieces of Lumber, so perplexedly and entangledly, that they could not, without spoiling it, endeavour to dis-intangle it, but letting it be as they found it, the next night these Goblins of themselves would take it off clear without hurt, and make it up in Hanks, and bang it up orderly as before.

This Magical matting of the Daughters Hair into a Witch-Lock, and the leaping of her Distaff, Sect. 11. out of her Wheel several times into the Floor, in the sight of her Mother also, besides what happened to her Father, Sect. 19, 20. shew plainly that it was no deluded Fancy of the Daughter, but the real Effects of Witchery. Which will be abundantly more consirmed out of the following Story of the Stirs in Sir William York's House, especially if that he true which is bruited in the Country, that they came from the same Hand that the Troubles in William Medcalse's Family did. But he that how it will, the ensuing Narrative is so papable an Evidence of things

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done by Dæmons or Spirits, that baving got into my Hands an Authentick Copy of some of the most remarkable Passages of those Disturbances, by my worthy Friend Mr. Richardson, though I have heard from more Hands than one how unwilling Sir William was to have the thing made publick; yet I will presume so much upon his Goodness, and Love of Truth, and useful Instruction of the World, as to adventure to displease his natural Humour, whilst haply I may, upon his better consideration, gratise some more noble principle in him. For I know nothing in the thing that can turn to his dishonour. For the best of Men have been assaulted by the Devil in extraordinary ways, and it has been their glory that by their Faith and Courage, and humble Considence in the Arm of God, they have overcome him. Wherefore without any further scruple I shall take the boldness to set down the abovesaid Narrative as follows.

#### RELAT. V.

Atrue and faithful Narrative of the disturbance which was in the House of Sir William York in the Parish of Lessingham in Lincolnshire, sent by the former hand to the same party.

1. In May 1679. Sir William York being from home, there was a great noise made by the lifting up of the Latch of the outmost Door, which continued with great quickness and noise for the space of two or three hours, till betwixt ten and eleven a Clock in the night. His Lady then being at home with sew Servants, apprehended it to be Thieves, and thereupon they went to the door, and spake to them, and afterwards winded a Horn, and raised the Town, and upon the coming in of the Town, the noise ceased, and they heard no more of it till May following.

2. And then Sir William being at London, the same noise was made at the door as before for two or three nights

nights together, and then they began to believe it to be occasioned by some extraordinary means. This was heard alike by twenty several persons then in the Family, who looking out at the Windows, over the door, heard the noise, but saw nothing. About a Month after, when Sir William had returned from London, he being in Bed, and his Lady ready to go in, he heard the same noise again; which held about half a quarter of an hour and ceased, and began again several times that night, the same persons being then in the House also, and taking the same care to discover it: at the end of this knocking there was as if it were a thrusting with a Knee, only more violent.

being both from home, and the Servants sitting up expecting their return that night, they heard a noise in the Hall, being the next Room to them, like the clapping of the door at the seet of the Stairs, and going in, they found the Chairs all set in the middle of the Hall, which they did set in their usual places again, and returned into the Kitchin, and in a little time hearing the like noise again, they went into the Hall, and found the said Chairs removed into a passage between the said

Kitchin and Hall.

4. In August, about nine or ten of the Clock, most of the Family being in Bed, and Sir William near upon it, he heard a knocking at the Door under the Stairs, as if it were with the End of a good thick Stick; at which being a little surprized, and going down, the said noise began again, but afterwards he heard no more of it that

Night.

Clock, Sir William being in his Closet in the Hall over sgainst the said Door, heard a very violent Knocking at the said Door, and being surprized, could not find the Key very quickly, but after he had, he went into the said Room or Hole under the Stairs, which the Noise left, and nothing being there, he sate down in the Hall

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with half a score of the Family whith him about half an hour, and all continued quiet. And then he went into his Chamber, but took the Key of the said Room under the Stairs in his Pocket, being very hard to believe any such extraordinary thing. And immediately the same noise began again in the same place, and he immediately going down, and into the same Room again, found all things as before. And the like noise was heard four or five times the same night in the same place, Sir William still using the same diligence to discover it as before. Note here, that as any one came near to that, or any other door where the knocking was, it always ceased, except the first time when it knocked at the outmost door.

6. About three or four nights after this, about eight of the Clock, at which time the noise usually began, and at the same place and door likewise where it usually began, there was a knocking heard as if it were with a slick with the broken end. Sir William used his former diligence to discover it. This noise was repeated about three or four times, and left off about eleven of the Clock. After this Sir William and his Family being after this manner so much disturbed, he resolved to do what he could to find it out. This noise therefore which was heard sometimes every other night, sometimes every night, as soon as it began, Sir William took all the Family into one Room, that he might be secured that there was no Cheat in it. Which the Servants gladly yielded to, being all mightily affrighted.

7. About September the noise began to be greater, and to be in a Room unfurnished, designed for a great Parlour, and was like to a Man walking up and down, and sometimes running, sometimes like a Man walking on Stilts, and sometimes knocking at the Cieling, or top of the Room, but not above half a score strokes at a time, yet sometimes sewer, and sometimes more, still as he went

towards it.

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8. Afterwards the faid noise began to be more dreadful

dreadful and greater yet, and in more places, which mightily disordered Sir William's ancient Father; and his Lady and Children very much. Upon which the were thinking of leaving the House. Sir William was willing they fhould, but unwilling to leave it himself. and thereupon they all continued. At this time Sir William had a Plummer putting up Lead about the House, to conveigh the Rain that fell into a Cistern. and this knocking was often against the Lead, and of ten against the Iron that bore it, in imitation of the Plummer's knocking in the day time. He had like. wife Carpenters at the same time, and sometimes this noise was like their chopping at the Wood in the Yard, infomuch that the Head Carpenter faid, that if he had not known his Servants to be in the House, he should have thought they had been chopping. Sometimes it was like the Servants chopping of Coals in the Coal-yard: fometimes knocking at the Doors of Out-houses, at the Wash-house, Brew-house, and Stable-doors; and as they followed it from place to place, it still immediately, and in one instant removed. These were the usual noises that were every night when it came, which was three or four times a Week.

9. But sometimes it was a great deal more terrible, particularly when Mr. Brown, a Relation of Sir William's Brother Brown, was here. The noise began about the usual time of the night, and at the usual place. Which said noise in one place or another held all night, sometimes at the Door under the stairs, sometimes running up and down in the Parlour, sometimes knocking violently at the Wood of the Windows, sometimes against the Spouts, and sometimes against the forementioned Cistern, and sometimes against the outmost Doors, as if it had been some great piece of Timber thrown against them; insomuch that the Carpenters, which were in the House, said, it was impossible for all the Art and Strength of Man to make such a noise without battering the doors in pieces, and

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yet examining they found the door firm and whole, not the least battered or strained; Sometimes this noise was like the tumbling of Tiles from the side of an House.

10. This noise growing worse and worse, Sir William followed it, demanding in the Name of God what was the occasion of it, but received no answer; but still it removed to another place. Particularly one night, it being very extraordinary in the great Parlour, Sir William kept the Family in another Room, and with a Candle in his hand, walked in the same Parlour, but heard nothing. Afterwards confidering the same God could protect him in the dark, as well as in the light, he put out the Candle, and shut the door, and walked there a quarter of an hour, hoping some discovery might be made to a fingle person, which was not made to more. After he had walked a quarter of an hour in the dark. the noise began at the Wood of the Window in the same Room, only on the out-fide. At which he demanded. as formerly in the Name of God, what was the meaning of it. Upon which it immediately ceased in that place. and removed to a Dial that stood about ten or twenty yards from the House, and knockt violently there, and took the rounds as formerly again. This night Sir Wiltiam likewise opened a Bible, and laid it in the Room under the Stairs where it began; but nevertheless the noise was there afterwards, and the Bible not altered. After which he went into the Chamber with the Family. and having been a little time there, there began a very great Drumming at a pair of Wainscot Doors, between the Hall and the great Parlour, imitating Drummers in their several ways of beating, and varying it as they usually do, but it was as if it was done with hands against the Wainscot.

of knocking began as at former times, and Sir William lighted a Candle, and fet it in a high Candlestick in the middle of the Hall, and went up into his Chamber with

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all his Family; and whilft they were above, this drumming Noise began at the Door again in a very dreadful manner. They were at their Devotions, which when they had finished, Sir William went out first himself, and went down Stairs, and found the Chairs removed, and the Candle put out, the Snuff hanging bent down, and the Candlestick removed into the Passage between the Kitchin and the Hall.

the fitting of the Parliament drawing nigh, which required Sir William's Attendance, and he being much concerned upon the leaving his Family in such Disturbances, and intending to set forward on Monday before the sitting of the Parliament, which was October 16. his Brother Browne and his Wife, Sir William's only Sister, and several other Friends coming to take their leave of him, the Noise was heard at the door under the Stairs that Night, but very little to what usually. And accordingly Sir William went to London, intending that if the Noise continued, his Lady and his Children should solow him, and that his Father should go to Mr. Brown's at Horblin; but by God's Blessing from that time to this it was never heard any more.

## Advertisement.

This is a very true and assured Diary of the chief Passar ges in those Stirs made in Sir William York's house, but withal a very brief one. Which made me get Mr. Richardson to send certain Queries touching several Passar ges, which were answered from a very sure and authentich Hand; and in vertue of which answers, I shall be able to give a stop to all the Tergiversations of the Incredulous and their evasorious Pretences, as if things might be resolved into waggish Combination. As first on,

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Sect. 1. I was certified (so that no Man can pretend that the Party that made that Noise with the Latch, did upon the blowing of the Horn slink away before the Town could come in) that the Noise continued till the People of the Town came to the Gate; and that it was impossible but that if any Person had been within the Yard, they must have discovered him, because there is a Wall about ten two high round the Yard, so that he could no way a scape. And besides that, it happened in that time of the Year when it is in a manner all night long Twilight, sufficient to discover any Person, if any were there to be discovered; it is not probable, if there had been need, but that some of the company would come with Lanthorns or other Lights.

Sect. 2. Those Persons that looked out of the Window to the Place where the Noise was made, could not but see if there were any Man there to make that Noise, it being done by Moon-shine, (as is answered to my Query on this Passage) sufficient to discover if any Person had been there, if not, who it were. And this Diligence being repeated for some Nights together, and nothing discerned, it is manifest that the Noise was made by some Damon or Spirit, not by

any Man.

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Sect. 5. Note that the Noise at the Door of the Room under the Stairs, it could not be discerned, whether it was on the Inside of the Door, or on the Outside, as was answered to one of my Queries. And therefore Sir William seeing no body at the outside to cause that Noise, which he might have easily done by the light of his Candle, if there had been any body, he went into the Room to see if he could discover any one there. But sinding no body, lockt the Door, and yet the noise began again in the same Room, but upon a second search, no body found therein And this Noise and this Diligence in searching the same place several times repeated in one night, by one naturally incredulous of any such extrordinary things, and receiving such jatisfaction therefrom, methinks should shake the most obdurate Sadducee, and make him ashamed of his fond Incredulity.

But now for the ceasing of the Knocking when any one

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came

came near to any Door where the Knocking was; this was no impediment to the certain experience of that under the Stairs, because they by the light of a Candle plainly though at some distance, seeing there was no body at the outside of the Door. and finding no body within the Room or Hole, which was lockt; notwithstanding the ceasing of the Knocking, they might be sure that the Knocking was not made by the hand of any Mortal. Nay I will further add from certain Information, that there were scarce any of the House but have feen the Door at the same time the noise was made there, and no body at it; and that Sir William himself particularly has feen the Door from the top of the Stairs, with a Light in his hand several times, while the Noise was there, which sometimes continued till be came down several steps, and once till he came over against the Door within a yard of it, or thereabout, but faw no body; so certain an experiment is this of Demoniacal operation.

Sect. 6. This taking the whole Family into one Room was of very good consequence; for thereby it was plain that none of the Family plaid these Freaks, nor augmented them by any humoursome Imitation. And it is incredible any stranger should venture, as I understand by the answer to my sisted Query. Which assures me, that on the first night the House was searched every where, and the Doors were always lockt, and Sir William had the Keys given to him. What stranger therefore in his Wits would adventure upon such Freakish Exploits wherein he did himself so little good when he was in such apparent danger to be taken in such a numerous

Family.

Sect. 7. My sixth Query was upon this seventh Section, which was this. Was Sir William in the Room where something seemed to walk, to run, to go on Stilts? &c. and whether it was not so dark but that he might see if there had been a Man there? To which was answered, He sometimes went in with a Candle, and sometimes without, yet could discover nothing; and if any Person had been there, it was impossible for him to escape out of the Room undiscovered, the Door being lockt. And I may add further,

the outward doors being lockt, that would have sufficiently made him lyable to be taken if it had been a Man.

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Sect. 8. This Apish imitation of the noise of Workmen, shews it to be some trisling Damon, as also that sudden removal from one place to another, and its being heard in so many places at once, plainly argues it could be no Man, unless there were more than one, which would make them still the more obnoxious to be taken.

Sect. 9. The continuance of the stirs also all night, argues it not to be probable it was any Man. For who would disquiet himself a whole night, meerly to amuse others for nothing. But that battering noise at the door demonstrates it was not the Feat of any Mortal. And besides this noise. as Mr. Edward Brown the elder, who was there this very night, writes to Mr. Richardson, the Iron Latch of the great Door of the Room, which was just under that in which he lay, seemed to him to move with such wonderful swiftness up and down, and with such very great noise, as he could not think any humane art or dexterity could effect. But he describes also the battering noise he heard at that door. There seemed, Saith he, sometimes to be such extraordinary thumping and knocking against the said door, with such wonderful loud noise, as if some had managed an extraordinary great. piece of Timber with the greatest art to give it the greatest advantage to force the door open, or break it in pieces; and in deliberate thoughts I could not conceive how the strongest Door, or Walls, could stand before such force as was threatned by such a very great and loud noise. These two kinds of noises, says he, continued in my hearing till about break of day, with frequent little intermissions: And yet in the Morning, both the Iron Latch and Door were found unaltered, in the very same state they were left when we went to Bed. And very intelligent persons, says he, in the Family faid, that when they went to the door, or went out in the sime of such disturbances they could see no body, nor perceive any motion in any thing on which the invisible Agent did seem to operate. Which is the very same which I heard from the abovementioned Doctor of Physick in his Letter to me. Mr. Kk3 Brown

Brown in his discourse to Mr. Richardson in the Country, touching this thumping noise at the Door, told him he could not compare it to any thing better, as to the force thereof, than to the Roman Ram, which the Romans battered down Walls with. But it being experienced of all hands, that the noise seemed to come from a force against the Door, that would, if it had been real, break the Door all in pieces, and yet the Door suffering nothing from it, it is a plain demonstration that it was no Feat of any Man, but a pressious Frolick of some Damon. And lastly, what one Man, or many could make such a noise on the Top of the House, as if most of the Tiles were falling, and how could he get down so suddenly, as not to be discovered?

Section 10. My seventh Query was upon this Section, viz. Whether when Sit William went into the great Parlour with a Candle in his hand, to walk there, did the noise cease at his Approach, or before. To which is answered, It ceased upon his going in, and as soon as he was gone out, it would often begin again. Whence it is plain, if the noise had been caused by any visible Person, that Person would have been discovered by the light. But that which caused it did not so much as move out of the Room, in all likely hood, in beginning again as soon as Sir William's back

was turned.

Sect. II. My eighth Query belongs to this Section, and to some part of the former, namely, Whether when the Drumming was, and the Candle put out, and the Chairs removed, the Out-Doors of the House were lockt, so that none might escape out. To which it is answered, They were lockt, and Sir William kept the Keys. Which indeed was every night done, as was noted on the sixth Section. And therefore it is incredible that any Man would adventure to make such a thundring noise on the Wainscot-Doors, imitating the various Beating of Drums, or do any other discoverable Feats, in so numerous a Family, where there were so many to find him, and apprehend him, and the Doors shut upon him, that he could make no escape. To which you ma, add, that the Dogs were never observed to bark at any

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of these Disturbances, as most of the Family affirm, all of them, that never above once (which is a thing observed also in the Story of the Devil of Maschon) and yet the noise was external, all the Family, and other Watchers hearing it alike.

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Thefe were my main Queries upon this Narrative, and I must profess that I am abundantly satisfied in the Answers to them. Nor will I omit what will reach further than to these Queries. For I am assured, from the same hand, that Sir William being a Person naturally incredulous of such things, and impatient of being imposed upon, used all possible care and diligence to detect the Impostor, if there had been any, and this would reach to more particulars than I could propose by way of Query. Which hitherto has been only touching matter of Fact. But I was also so curious as to ask what Witnesses there were besides those of Sir William's Family, which amount to about Twenty, and I was informed that most of his Tenants by turns watching there, could witness to the same matters. And there were at least forty Persons that were Eye-witnesses, or rather Ear-witnesses, the difturbance being by Noises, not Apparitions properly fo called, and most of the Servants are still in Sir William's Family that were there in the time of the disturbance, so that if any one have the Curiosity to enquire of the truth of the Business, be may easily get full satisfaction in the Parish of Lesfingham.

My last Query was, Whether any one was suspected to be the cause of these Disturbances, and upon what occasion. But the Answer was prudent and Christian, That there might be some Person suspected, but the Proof being not full, he was unwilling to lay so heavy a Charge on any one. Nor is that much to my purpose, unless the Party suspected should prove the Cobler that Alice Medcalse's flaxen hair'd Visitant assirmed to her to be the Author of her troubles. For then the certainty of these Disturbances in Sir William's House, of which there is so full and ample Testimony, would be a farther consirmation of those things that are said to have happened at William Kk 4 Medcalse's,

Medcalfe's, they both being as well from one hand as in one Parish.

But in the mean time these Disturbances at Sir William York's having such clear and unexceptionable Evidence, that they were not the Feats of any Man, but the Freaks of some Invisible Damon, my communicating this Narrative to the World, as it cannot but deserve Thanks of the Reader, so I hope it will obtain pardon of Sir William, that I have not concealed his Name, no more than supprest the Story it self, which would have been main without it, but have exhibited it in its due fulness for the conviction of this incredulous Age, and confounding of Saducism and Infidelity, without the least Blemish to so worthy a Person. Who was so much under the Protection of the Almighty that this Demoniacal Power was notably limited and curbed, for a much as it was observed that, unless it was in the Hall (and there was only a few Chairs) the disturbance was never in any Room that was furnished. And it was also confined as to time; for unless it began at eight, nine, or ten of the Clock, it came not at all that night, and usually left off about eleven or twelve, there is only that night excepted, when Mr. Brown was there. And lastly, when Sir William was in the greatest Straits of all, Sect. 12. and intended to have bis Wife and Children come up to London to him, and to dispose of his Father at Mr. Brown's at Horbin, to prevent that trouble, the Disturbance quite ceased. But Sir William's Christian Faith and Courage in the m dst of those Disturbances, while they continued, was very eminent and conspicuous, and I know no Injury done to him or any one else, in my t. ansmitting the memory thereof to future Ages.

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#### RELAT. VI.

A Story of the marvelous Condition of one Robert Churchman of Balsham, some six or seven Miles off from Cambridge, when he was inveigled in Quakerism, how strangely he was possessed by a Spirit that spoke within him, and used his Organs in despight of him, while he was in his Fits. And how he was recovered from his Errour, and regained to the Church by the Devotion and Diligences of Dr. J. Templar, still Minister of that place, as it is set down in his Letter to a Friend, which is as follows.

SIR,

VOUR defire to be acquainted with some passages concerning the Quakers in this Town, obligeth me to give you the following Account. At my first settlement here, I found them very busie in enticing my people to a compliance with their Perswasions in Religion. This Design they did attempt to accomplish by dispersing their Papers among them. Two of my Parishioners I had a particular eye upon, namely, Robert Churchman and his Wife. They being Persons of a very good Life, and of a plentiful Estate, I was under a fear that their departure from the Church might be a means to induce others to the same Practice. The first, in many Discourses I had with him, did manifest a very strong inclination to the Principles of the Quakers. The second was so far engaged, that the Quakers did commonly report that a Principle was wrought in her.

As I was one day in Conference with the faid Robert Churchman. I defired him that when any of their Books came to his Hand, he would do me the kindness to bring them to me, that we might read them over together, affuring him of no unwillingness in me to hearken to whatsoever should appear reasonable.

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What I defired he performed not long after. When e Floo I had received the Paper into my hand, before I began to read, I suggested to him, that it would be convenient that the Person who had been the Cause of his Seducement should be sent for, and hear what was replyed to the Contents, which he willingly confented to. When the Quaker was come, one Branch of our Dif. course was, Whether the Scripture is to be owned as a Rule. which the Quaker denyed, afferting, that the Rule was within them. After the expence of two or three hours in Discourse about this and other matters, I desired Robert Churchman to take notice, that the Quakers did not own the Scriptures for their Rule. Which before this Conference I had intimated to him, but found him unwilling to believe. It pleased God so far to bless what was spoken, that the next time he met his Brother, Thomas Churchman, he told him of what had paffed at my House, and that now he was affured that the Quakers did not acknowledge the Scripture for their Rule, and for his part, he would not be of that Religion which doth disown the Scripture in that particular.

Not long after, the Wife of the forementioned Quaker coming to his house to visit his Wife, he met her at the Door, and told her she should not come in, intimating that her Visit would make Division betwixt them. After some Parley, the Quaker's Wife spake unto him, in these Words, Thou welt not believe except thou fee a Sign, and thou mayest see some such. Within a sew nights after Robert Churchman had a violent storm upon the Room where he lay, when it was very calm in all other parts of the Town, and a Voice within him, as he was in Bed, spake to him, and bid him, Sing Praise, fing Praises, telling him, that he should see the Glory of the New Jerusalem, about which time a glimmering light appeared all about the Room. Toward the morning the Voice commanded him to go out of his Bed naked with his Wife and Children. They all standing upon

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hen e Floor, the Spirit making use of his tongue, bid them lye down and put their Mouths in the Dust, which ey did accordingly. It likewise commanded him to and call his Brother and Sifter, that they might fee e New Jerusalem, to whom he went naked about half Mile.

When he had delivered his Message, that which spake ithin him, charged them to denounce Wrath against em, and declare that Fire and Brimstone would fall pon them, as it did upon Sodom and Gomorrha, if hey did not obey, and so he returned to his own House. Where, upon the Floor of a low Room, he stood naked na very unufual manner, Sometimes the Spirit within im forced him to fing, sometimes to bark like a Dog. When his Brother and Sister, who followed him, were ery importunate with him to relist it, it bid him to kill hem, making use of these Words. These my Enemies, phich would not that I should reign over them, bring them and flay them before my Face. It made him to utter with great readiness many places in Scripture, which he had no knowledge of before. The drift of what was spoken, was to perswade him to comply with the Quakers, and it named some which live in the neighbouring Towns. About three or four hours being thus spent, he came to him solf himself, and was able to give a perfect Account of what had befallen him.

Several nights after, the fame trouble returned upon him. His Wife was tortured with extraordinary Pains; the Children which lay in the Room complained that their Mouths were stopt with Wooll as they were in Bed. The disturbance was so great, that he had thoughts of leaving his House for a time, and made it his desire to be with me at mine. I prevailed with him not to be fo sudden in his removal, but to make some further trial. It pleafed God upon a continuance with him in Prayer every day in the House, that he was at last perfectly free from all Molestation. The Quakers hearing of his Condition,

gave it out, that the Power of God would come upond the him again, and that the Wound was but skinned over by ath Re Which made me the more importunate with him to keep close to the publick Service of God Town and to have nothing to do with them or their Wil hefe th

tings.

Which direction he followed till November 1661, and then perusing one of their Books, a little afterupon the tenth day of that Month, his Troubles returned, Marke A Voice within him began to speak to him after the for good ! The first Sentence which it uttered was Cease thou from Man whose Breath is in his Nostrils, for wherein is he to be accounted? The design which he discerned that it did aim at, was, to take him off from coming to the Church (where he had been that day) and from it was hearing the Word of God. It suggested several other stood Scriptures in order to the perswading of him to a compliance with the Quakers, and told him, that it would strive with him as the Angel did with Jacob until the breaking of the Day, at which time it lest him. The two next nights it gave him the same Molestation, saying, It must be with him as it was with David, who gave no sleep to his Eyes, nor sumber unto his Eye-lids, until he found a place for the Lord, an Habitation for the God Upon Wednesday at night he was very peremptory in his resisting of it. When it began to sollicite him, he replyed, That he faw it was a Spirit of Delusion, which he would not obey. Upon which the Spirit denounced a Curse against him, in these Words, Go, ye cursed into everlasting Fire, and so lest him with a very great Heat in his Body.

After this, he was, in his own apprehension, in a very comfortable condition, and while he was confidering what had happened, a Voice within him spake to him, faying, That the Spirit which was before upon him was a Spirit of Delusion, but now the true Spirit of God was come into him. It acquainted him that the Doctrine of the Trinity was true, and that God had an Elect People,

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nd that those whom the Father Elected, the Son ath Redeemed, and whom Christ Redeemeth, the Holy Shoft Sanctifieth, and told him that the Minister of the Town would further instruct him about the Truth of hese things. Upon Thursday morning about Break of day, it fet him upon his Knees, as he was in Bed. ind bid him farewel. The fame day it came upon him in the Field as he was going to, and coming from the Market, and pressed upon him to believe that it was the good Spirit which he was acted with, which he still doubted of. One night that Week amongst many Arguments which it used to that purpose, it told him if he would not believe without a Sign, he might have whar would not believe without a Sign, he might have what Sign he would. Upon that Robert Churchman delired, if it was a good Spirit, that a Wier-Candlestick, which flood upon the Cup-board might be turned into Brafs. Which the Spirit said he would do. Presently there was a very unfavoury Smell in the Room, like that of the Snuff of a Candle newly put out; but nothing elfe was done towards the fulfilling of the Promise.

Upon the Lord's day following, he being at Church, it came upon him. When the Chapters were named, he turned to them in his Bible, but was not able to read. When the Pfalm was fung, he could not pronounce a Syllable. Upon Monday morning his Speech was wholly taken from him. When I came to him, and asked him how it was with him, he moved his Head towards me, but was not able to speak; I waited an hour or two in the Room, hoping that his Speech might have returned unto him, and that I might have gained from him fome Account of his Condition. But finding no Alteration, I defired those who were present to join with me in Pray-As we were Praying, his Body, with much violence, was thrown out of Bed, and then, with great vehemency, he called to me to hold my Tongue. When Prayer was done, his Tongue was bound, as before, till at last he broke out into these Words, Thine is the Kingdom, Thine is the Kingdom; which he repeated, I believe, above an hundred times. Sometimes he was forced into extream Laughter, fometimes into Singing; his Hands were usually imployed in beating his Break. All of us, who stood by, could discern unusual heavings in his Body. This Distemper did continue towards the morning of the next day, and then the Voice within him signified to him that it would leave him, bidding him to get upon his Knees in order to that end, which he did, and then presently he had a perfect Command of himself.

When I came to him he gave me a fober Account of all the passages of the day before, having a distinct Remembrance of what the Spirit forced him to do, and what was spoken to him by those who stood by. In particular he told me, he was compelled to give me that disturbance in Prayer, which I before mentioned, the Spirit using his Limbs and Tongue as it pleased, contra-

ry to the inclination of his own mind.

Upon the Thursday following the Spirit began to rage after its former manner, as I was at Prayer with him, it was very discernible how it wrought upon his Body, forced him to grate his Teeth, and draw his Mouth awry. He told me, after I had done, that it bid him to denounce Woe against me. It pleased God, upon continuance in Prayer with him, at last to release him of all his Trouble, and so far to make it advantageous to him and his Wise, and some others, which were too much by assed with the Principles of the Quakers, that now they have a perfect dislike of that way, and do diligently attend upon the Publick Service of God in the Parochial Church, Sir, You may be consident of the Truth of what is here related, by

Balsham, Jan. 1. 1682. Your assured Friend,

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This Story I thought fit to add to the former Additional Stories for these three Reasons. First, Because I have all desirable assurance of the truth thereof, being personally acquainted this long time with the party that wrote this Letter, whom I know to be a learned, pious, and serious person, and such as I am confident would not for all the World close his Letter so as he has, but that he delivers nothing but what he knew to be true, by such means as is intimated in the Letter it felf; that is, either by his own experience, or the information of Robert Churchman, whom he knew to be a fingular honest Man, and utterly devoid of all fraud and guile. Moreover, the Writer of this Letter is so modest, that he was always very backward from publishing it by it self, though it makes not a little to his repute in the faithful and successful discharge of his Ministry. But this new occasion being offered, my importunity obtained of him, that it might be published in this Collection of Stories of this nature, which now accordingly is done.

My second Reason is, because it is such a notable Example of that danger they put themselves in, who leave the true Church of Christ (which has the Seal and Testimony of Christ, that it is for the main commensurate to his Word, as the Church Universal was, before the Apostasie, and the Reformed Churches are upon the Rising of the Witnesfes) to follow the seducing of any private Spirit, especially such as the Quakers were at the first, being drunk and intoxicated with the Poyson of Familism, which out of a Spirit of Saducism and Infidelity, believing no subsistence of the Soul of Christ after death, antiquates all things belonging to his particular Person, as the Sacraments, Festivals, his Intercession, and Personal coming again to Judgment, &c. and makes nothing of any Christ but what is within us. Which is a perfect dissolution, or nulling of the True Apostolick Christian Religion, which yet is to be Everlasting, according

And my third and last Reason is, because this Story with others of Toldervey, Gilpin, James Naylor, and the like, will the better justifie that Satyrical passage of Jos. Glanvil his Letter to me, wherein he calls Quakerism, The sink of Folly and Madness, which I conceive he does with an Eye to the former times of the Quakers. But that there is now a more tolerable estimate to be made of them (though some sordid Badges of Familism still stick to them, and indeed all that remains ugly in them is such, though they do not consider it) I shall note in my Advertisements on that Letter, which is as follows.

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Fidler to the Atheist:

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## REFLECTIONS

ON

DROLLERY and ATHEISM.

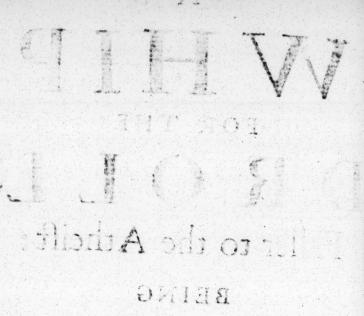
Sent, upon the occasion of the

Drummer of Tedworth,

In a Letter to the most Learned

D' HENRY MORE, D.D.

LONDON,
Printed for S. Lownds, M DC-LXXXVIII.



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# REFLECTIONS

DROLLERY and ATHERS ...

Sent, upon the occasion of the

Drummer of Tedworth.

In a Letter to the most Learned

DIENEY MORE D.D.

LOSEDON, Princel for S. Levello, M. DO-LXXXVIII.

### TO THE

## REVEREND and LEARNED D' HENRY MORE, D.D.

#### SECT. I.

His Answer to certain Objections and Queries touching the Stirs made by the Drummer of Tedworth.

Honoured Sir,

HE scrupulous care you take in examining the Story of the Disturbance at Tedworth, is no more than becomes a Philosopher, and one that is not willing to be deceived. And without fuch a cautious and particular inquiry you could not answer the murmurs and petty evalions of wilful Unbelievers. \* Those Objections you pickt up at Cambridge have the ill fortune to miscarry in almost every circumstance, and are in no likelihood of being believed but at a great distance. Some of them I could have answered upon mine own knowledge; and concerning the rest, I have made a strict enquiry of Mr. Mompesson himself and others, when I was last in those parts, and upon certain information I give you this Account.

To the (1.) that faith, The House is rented, and that this is a device to beat down the value of it. I answer from his own Mouth, That the House is his own, and fo the foundation of this shift is over-turned. The second, of those that fay, It is a trick to get Money from thofe

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those that come to see the Prodigy, hath as little truth, but much more malice in the first Contrivers than the former. For this Gentleman being a Person of Estate, I am confident, scorns so base and so beggerly a Policy, and is fo far from making any advantage, that it hath done him very material prejudice in his Fortunes and Affairs. And those Strangers that come to fee the Prodigy, use to leave nothing behind them except thanks for the civility of their Entertainments. 'Tis true (3.) as others fay, That the House is boarded without, at least a great part of it. But there are no Cellars as the Obje-Etion adds, fave only under the Parlour, and the disturbance was most in other Rooms. And whereas (4.) 'tis objected, That a Knight that offered to go down could not be permitted. 'Tis answered me, That the Gentleman might have gone down had he pleased, and his Servant did, who made a careful fearch, but could find nothing that might be a cause of the noise, which he affirmed to be above, and that it proceeded not from the Cellar. And to disable what other Objecters say, viz. (5.) That there was no Drumming in the midst of any Room, but only a striking on the Boards as it were with a Hammer in a corner of the outsides of the House. I say, to null this pretence, Mr. Mompesson and others assured me, that the noise was oft in the midst of the Room, and oft over head; and, he faith, that there is scarce a Man or Child in the Village but hath heard and can witness it. And after the first Month it was almost always within. Thus, Sir, to the Objections of others, which you have gathered. And to your own Queries I make this return.

Whereas you inquire (1.) What part of the Childrens Beddid the Damon beat, and what noise did it make? 'Tis answered, That it beat against the Head and Posts of the Bed, and that when hands were laid on each side of them, at those times they would shake as if they would fall in pieces, but nothing else could be perceived or selt. The noise was like to that of striking with a Hammer. And then (2.) To that whether the Drummer's Drum

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was ever looked on while it beat, or was it only in the dark, I am assured, that it was seen while the noise was made upon it, both by the light of Fire and Candle. (3.) To the Query, What were the Boards that moved, by what Light was their motion seen, and by whom? Mr. Mompesson answers, They were seen move forwards and backwards in the light of clear day, before the Sun was set, and by a whole House sull of people. And whereas (4) you ask, In what clearness of Light were the Chairs seen walk about, and by what Witnesses? 'Tis answered, That they were seen to do so by Candle-light, and by divers

persons.

As to what I was a witness of my felf, I add these circumstances for the satisfaction of your Queries; The Children were in Bed when the Scratching and Panting was, but I am fure did not contribute to those noises. I faw their hands above the Cloths during the Scraping, and searched the place whence the noise came. To which I might add, That they were little harmless modest Girls that could not well have been suspected guilty of the confidence of fuch a Juggle, had it been possible they could have acted in it. For the Panting, I am certain there was no Dog in the Bed, for I graspt it with my hand, and felt it in all parts, especially there where The Bed also was fearcht unthe original motion was. der, but no Dog, nor any Creature else could be found there. The Floor I said shook with the Panting sensibly, and yet it was as strong and substantial an one, as ordinarily is feen. But the Children indeed did not feem to be much concerned, having been used to those and ruder noises, and there was Company in the Room to affure them.

#### SECT. II.

The affected humour of Drollery one Cause of the Misbelief of Witchcrast, Apparitions, and Spirits. And what shallow Souls the Drolling Humourists are in points that require a more searching Wit and solid Judgment.

Thus, Sir, I have briefly answered others Objections, and your Queries. And because I have an humour to say little more, I'll consider (what you know as well as any Man alive) the Reasons Men are so apt to cavilat this kind of Relations, and are rather willing to believe any thing, than the truth of such a Narrative. They are chiefly I think an affected humour of Drollery and Scof-

fing, and a worse cause, Atheism.

For the first, the subject of Wisches and Apparitions is an apt and ampleoccasion. And the Cheats of Impofours, the Conceits of Melancholy, the Credulity of Ignorance, the Tricks of Waggery, the more solemn Vanities of Superstition, and the Tales of old Women, these are excellent Topicks for a frolick and wanton Fancy. And the defire of the Humourist hath to be some body, and to have a name above those of common Apprehenfion, will be fure to actuate the scoffing Vein; in the exercise of which if he have quibled luckily, and made Folks laugh, he is encouraged to take all fuch occasions to prove himself a Wit, and to shew he had a pretty way to play the Fool. And when he hath wanton'da while, and frolickly toyed in his affected Merriments, his Reason becomes an obedient Servant to his Fancy. He makes himself believe (by those Arguments that at first were intended only to make him laugh) and in the end concludes in earnest, that there is neither Witch nor Apparition, and 'tis well if he stop there.

Now these, Sir, are the Wits (if we will believe them) and their Admirers take every Jest for an Argument, and a loud Laugh, upon an idle Tale of a Divil or a

Witch Being is the every and be idle a

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Witch, for a Demonstration of the Non-existence of such Beings. And thus the Humour propagates, and Saducism is the fashion. Nor is this all, but by the same method every thing that is facred or serious hath been exposed, and both Government and Religion made the Objects of

idle and fantastick Buffoonry.

\* And must we call this Wit, Sir? I confess there are few things that urge me to more indignation than to hear that Name, which deferves to fignifie better, to be so injuriously apply'd. Certainly Wit is not an odd Metaphor, or a lucky Simile, a Wild fetch; or unexpected Inference, a Mimick action, or a pretty Knack in telling of a Tale, but it is a Faculty to dive into the Depth of things, to find out their Causes and Relatives, Consonancies and Disagreements, and to make fit, useful, and unobvious Applications of their respective Relations. and Dependencies. For which great and noble Exercifes of the Mind, the Droll is the most unfit and incompetent Person in the World; and those that on this Account assume the Prerogative of being the only Wits. are of all Men the most incapable of being fo. For that trivial and Pedling way of Fancy and Humour, to which they are addicted, emasculates their Minds, and makes them superficial, flashy and fantastical, by employing them upon Effeminacies and little apish Fooleries. And by these darling Entertainments of a too fondly-indulged Fancy, the Mind is made incapable of ferious and deep Reflections, which give it the noblest and most valuable Improvements. So that I have observed that the Drolling Humourist, are for the most part remarkably Defective in close Ratiocinations, and the worst in the World at Inference. Which is no wonder, fince Fancy is a defultory and roving Faculty, and when 'tis not under the conduct of a fevere Judgment, not able to keep it felf to a steady and resolved Attention, much less to make coherent chains of rational Deduction. So that 'tis next to impossible for such Wits as these to arrive to more than a Knack of scoffing at what they understand LIA

understand not. And they are under almost an invincible Temptation of doing so, by every thing that is too great for their comprehension. For the Humour that acts them is proud and assuming, and would not have any thing to be valued, of which it self is incapable, and therefore it depretiates all the nobler and more generous matters which it hath very great reason to despair of, and endeavours by ridiculous and insolent Scorn to list it

felf above them.

And yet this presumed Wit, which raiseth them to fuch an Elevatian in their own conceit, is but a young and boyish Humour, and the very first Eslays of Juvenile Invention are in these Exercises of Fancy, which the maturer Spirit outgrows. For you know, Sir, our Senses are the first Powers we exercise and indulge in our greenest years. From them by degrees our Imaginations grow up, and their Actions and Gratifications are the Pleasures and entertainments of Youth, which is easy to observe in the little Flirts, Quibbles, and Tricks of Fancy with which the younger Students in the Universities are so much tickled and transported. But when Age and Experience ripens the Judgment (which is the Faculty of flowest Growth) we then slight this Wantonness and toying of our Fancies, and apply our selves to Parsuits that are more manly and concerning. when the Judgment is come to its full exercise and pitch, and hath overcome and filenced the Futilities and Prejudices of Imagination, we are then and not till then grown into Manhood. And those that never arrive to this Consistence, but spend their Age in fooling with their Fancies, they are yet Children, though they have gray Hairs, and are still Boys though past their great Climatterical.

I confess, Sir, I am not so Cynical and severe, but that I allow even to the more improved Genius's their Relaxations and pleasant Intervals. And sage Socrates himself sometimes rid the Boys Hobby-horse. Fancy may be permitted its plaisance and inosfensive Raileries,

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folong as they are governed by the Rules of Vertue, and a prudent Judgment. And no doubt God himself allows all our Powers and Faculties their Innocent Gratifications. Yea and I acknowledge a delightful Prettiness in the result of a managed and judicious Fancy, while it is imployed in exposing Vice, and conceited Follies to deferved Scorn and Laughter.

But when Imagination is rampant, loose and ungoverned, when it knows no Bounds, and observes no Decorums, but shoots at random, and insolently slies at all things that are august and venerable, its sallies are then vitious and detestable Excesses; and those that are of this Humour, are but a sort of sleering Bussions, that is, a better kind of Apes in the judgment of the Wise, though Wits in their own.

#### SECT. III.

His just Reprehension of the quibling Debauchees, for their Irreverence toward Government and Religion. And what an Abhorrence and Antipathy, they have against all noble Theories of Philosophy, which are above the pitch of their weak Intellectuals.

BUT, Sir, I intimated a greater charge against these quibling Debauchees, viz. that they are the Enemies of Government and Religion, and shall prove it with this Addition, that they are so of all the better sorts of Knowledge.

\* For Government, you know, Sir, its Influence depends upon the Reverence its Rulers have from the People, and while they are Men, there will be miscarriages in publick Affairs and Managements of State. And if all the slips and impersections, all the Mistakes and Faults of the supream Ministers of Rule be tatled and aggravated among the Herd, the Government will thereby be exposed to the scorns of the Rabble, and lose a great part

of its Force with its Reverence. And in this it fuffers in finitely from the drolling Phantasticks, who blow in the Sores till they have rankled them with their malitious and povionous Breath, and shoot Libels at the Government till they have made deep Wounds in its Reputation and Reverence, and turned every Tongue into a Weapon of War against it. Thus do these Chams discover their Fathers nakedness, and rejoyce to publish the Shame of those whose Failures and Infirmities Loyalty, Prudence, and Regard to the publick Quiet should oblige them to conceal

Nor (2) is Religion more beholden to them. For a Mind that useth to whiffle up and down in the Levities of Fancy, will find a very great Indisposition to the serious and solemn exercises of Piety. And that will grow into an Aversation, which will be sure to prompt the Humourist to t ke all occasions to expose it; so that he quickly jests at Scripture, and makes a mock of Sin, plays with eternal Flames, and scoffs at those that fear them. As if the facred Oracles were but a Legend of idle Tales, and Sin but a Name, coyn'd by Fancy and vain Fears; as if Hell were but a painted Fire, and the Religious a fort of timorous Fools that are afraid of Buggs, and the Imagery of Dreams; And if these are not yet the real Articles of their Creed, their extravagant Fancies, and vile Affections are like in a short time to encline these light and impure Spirits to make them And this fort of Wits are either Atheists, or as great Prodigies of Folly, if they are not; fince to believe a God that made, fees, and will judge them, and to fcoff at that Tremendous Majesty before whom their Brother Wits below tremble, to think the Scriptures are the Inspirations of the God of Heaven, the Laws of Souls, and grand Instruments of immortal Happiness, and yet to Droll upon them, and to jest with the Records of Eternity, to believe endless Torments, and everlasting Joys in the state immediately succeeding these our short ard ur certain Beings, and yet to sport with the Wrath

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of God, and to make tricks at Eternal Terrors, to talk trivially of beatifical Enjoyments, and to make as bold with Heaven as they do with an imaginary Elysium. These, I say, are Follies, these are degrees of Impudence, beyond all aggravation or possibilities of expression, and did not sad experience shew them, one would scarce believe there were such prodigious Monsters in

Nature. And to these things I add

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(3.) These idle Drollists have an utter Antipathy to all the braver and more generous kinds of Knowledge. For that they are perfectly indisposed for Philosophy and all deep Researches, I have said some things that may fuffice for proof already. And I add this observation to confirm it, That among the numerous Youth I have feen bred in a great School, and in the University, I have noted that those of them who are most remarkable for Waggishness and Jesting, seldom arrived to any great maturities or capacity for things of consequence and weight. And indeed frolickness of Fancy, and solidity of Judgement, require dispositions of Brain that are very different, and such as seldom meet in great Degrees, but in some very few extraordinary Tempers. But generally I believe the Droll is very unfit for matters of Sublimity and Substance, and therefore, as I intimated, endeavours by his Scoffs and Injuries to make them appear as much below his ferious notice, as they are indeed above his reach, and in this defign he hath many great Advantages for his Abuses. For the Pedantry of Disputers, that make a loud claim to Knowledge, the Vanity of the extravagant fort of Chymists, the fond Boasts of some bold Pretenders to Philosophy and Experiment, the Strangeness of things that soberer Inquisitors declare practicable, but have not yet succeeded, the meanness, and seeming contemptibleness of many Subjects, the Experimenter is often obliged to deal in, these afford plausible Arguments for Drolling Harangues, and those Advantages are taken to make the most useful Theories, and Endeavours appear ridiculous and vain. And

And for the encouragement of the Phantastick in his infolent humour of Injustice and Abuse, there is a certain Envy in Mankind against those that attempt any thing extraordinary, which makes men willing to embrace and applaud that which exposeth what themselves cannot act nor comprehend. By reason of which ill Nature in the generality, yea even of those that pretend to something, this kind of Wit becomes the most pestilent enemy to knowledge, and its Improvements, especially to Philosophick Wisdom. For Philosophy can shame and dif-able all the Reasons that can be urged against it, but Tests and loud Laughter are not to be confuted, and vet these are of more force to degrade a thing in the esteem of some fort of Spirits than the most potent demonstrations. And the mischief of it is, that these Quiblers and Buffoons that have some little scraps of Learning matcht with a great proportion of Confidence, have commonly the luck to be celebrated among the vulgar for Men of great Parts and Knowledge, and that opinion of them gains credit to their insolencies and abuses.

But, Sir, I perceive my zeal against those Pedlars of Wit hath transported me to your trouble I therefore make an abrupt return to my other Reason mentioned of mens Disbelief of the Being of Witches and Apparitions,

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Atheism, another cause of Disbelief of Apparitions and Spirits. With an Account of his Discourse with a profest Atheist. And a touch on one special cause of the increase of Atheism, viz. The placing Religion in Opinions.

Madness, you, Sir, have so fully discovered to the World in your incomparable Works, and so throughly understand the Mysteries of that black Conspiracy against Heaven, that it would be fond for me to think to suggest any Notion on the Subject which you could not teach. But, Sir, I have a relation about this matter to make you, which, I believe, you will not be unwilling to hear; And you shall have it, when I have taken notice, that there is a latent Atheism at the Root of the Saducean Principle. For too many deny Witches, because they believe there are no Spirits, and they are so perswaded, because they own no Being in the World but Matter, and the results of Motion, and consequently can acknowledge nothing of a God.

It hath indeed been a Question, whether 'tis possible there should be such a Prodigy as a Speculative Atheist in Nature, and I could wish it were so still. But alas! our Age and Experience hath ended the Dispute, and we need not search the dark and barbarous corners of America, nor seek the Monster among the Wild Men of the Desart, we have found him in times of Light, in a witty and civilized Region, and in an Age of the greatest Knowledge and Improvements; he skulks not among the thickest of the Woods, nor seeks Caverns for Concealment, but braves the Sun, and appears in the clearest day. And the Fool is not so modest as he was in the days of the Royal Prophet, to say only in his Heart, There is no God. We know a bolder fort of Insidels,

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and I can fay, Sir, from a particular experience, That there are who deny the Existence of a Deity. I met with one fuch fome years fince in London, who confidently. and without mincing, denied that there was any fuch Being, and bid me prove it. I wondered at the boldness as well as the impiety of his faying, and because I had a great compassion for one in so deplorable a State, I refolved not to exasperate him by Passion, hard Words. or damning Sentences, but calmly and without feeming Emotion, discoursed the business with him. I granted him all I fafely or reasonably could, and all that might ferve my defign for his conviction, before we began the close Engagement; that so he might have less prejudice against what was faid by one whom he might fee not to be of a narrow confined Judgment, and that I might not have the disadvantage of being put upon the impugning of Principles, which are plaulible by the great Names or Reasons of any eminent Philosophers, and that were not absolutely necessary for the defence of the Proposition for which I undertook.

\* Such were the Platonick Anima mundi, the Eternity and Immensity of the World, which, Sir, though I should not affirm, yet I would not at that time deny, but quietly granted them as Hypotheses, being willing to permit his belief of these in order to the convincing and disabusing him in his main and deadly Conclusion. And by those Concessions I gain'd the advantages I expected. For hereby he was disappointed of all those plausibilities which I perceived he was wont to urge for those Doctrines. And I saw, that when he was prest with the necessity of a Canse of all things, and a First, his Refuge was, that old Epicurean one of an Eternal infinite Matter, which when his unwary Opposites would attempt to disprove, by endeavouring to demonstrate the Beginning and Finiteness of the World, they gave him the opportunity of a colourable Defence, and diverted from the main Thesis which might be evinced, though the Immensity and Eternity of the Universe were granted:

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granted: And so they let him go from an Assertion that is most impious and absord, to another which is tolerably accountable and specious. And the Conclusion would be at last, that fince the Undertaker could not prove the World was not Infinite and Eternal, he could not make it appear there win a God. By which Procedure the Arguer falls from a Proposition which is the most demonstrable one in Nature, to another which cannot be cleared but by supposing the main thing in Question.

But besides this shift, which my Concession made insignificant; when my Atheist was urged with the Order, Harmony, Contrivance and Wisdom that is visible in the Creatures, he would betake him to his Anima Mundi, the Existence of which, when those other Antagonists he had dealt with would endeavour to overthrow, then they took a thing of harder probation than the main

Conclusion.

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I favitherefore, Sir, I permitted him to assume these Principles, and then proved, That though the World were Immense and Eternal, yet, That 'tis not possible meet blind unguided Matter should shuffle it self into fuch regular and accurate Productions as we fee are the Results of every day without the Manuduction of some Knowing Agent and Contriver, as you have fully made good in your excellent Antidote. And when he at this turn took fanctuary in an Anima Mundi, as the Cause of all the art and exactness in Nature, I granted him the Being; but askt him, Whether he took it for a Sub-Rance that was Intelligent or devoid of Reason and Perception. When he seemed to incline to this latter, I shewed him that such a Principle as had no fense or knowledge fignified no more to his purpose, than if he had fluck in the Hypothelis of meer Matter and Motion. But when he allowed his great Soul to be an intellectual Being, as he at last did, and that it was Immense and E. ternal, (as he was forced to do by his Affertion, that this Soulwas diffused through the whole Mass of his Infinite and Eternal Matter) I shewed him, that in effect he ted

was brought by his own Principles to the acknowledgement of a God, though he gave him another Name.

Thus, Sir, I pursued my Infidel into all his Starting-holes and Retreats, and drive him from one Assertion to another, its contradictory; and then back again to the first Thesis, and so up and down till at length he began to be assamed of his shuffling, and confest, that I had said to him more than he had heard, and some things that he would consider. He desired that I would give him the Substance of my Discourse in Writing, which I prepared for him, and shall perhaps ere long give an Account of these and other dependent Matters to the Publick.

After the heat of our Engagement was over, I was willing to learn by what means he came into that desperate Infidelity, and understood from him, \* that he had run through the several Stages of Modern Sects, not stopping till he came down to that Sink of Folly and Madness, Quakerism, and thence made a step into A. theism, which is no great leap; For East and West at long run meet, and are the fame. And certainly he that places his Religion in Opinions, and judgeth it now to lie in this form of Belief, and then in another, when he comes to consider the vast variety of Sects, the consis dence of each in his own Reasonings, the Pretences of all to Scripture-Reason, and Antiquity, the Antipathy they have one against another, and the doubtfulness, if not falshood, of things that each of them hold facred and certain; I fay, he that takes Religion to be an adherence to Sells and Opinions, upon the Accounts mentioned, when he reflects, is in mighty danger of being an And except he fix at last upon the few plain acknowledged Essentials of Belief and good Life, (if he be of an anxious inquilitive Mind, and not obstinately resolved in the way of his particular Sect ) 'tis a Miracle if he ends not there at last. For he having establish this, That Religion consists in the Way or Form of some Party or other, and then having successively deserted to and in Deformation as a Gent their

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ted those Sects that had most of his favour and affection. and so past from one to another through all the steps of Descent, when at length he is faln out with the last, he hath nothing else to flie to but contempt of all Religion as a meer Juggle and Imposture. This I took to be this Gentleman's case, and I believe much of the general Atheism of our days is to be ascribed to this Cause.

Thus, Sir, I have followed the humour of Writing, as it led me, and expect your pardon of this Ramble upon the account of that liberty which uses to be allowed in Intercourses of this Nature, and more from that

Friendship with which you are pleased to honour.

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Your Affectionate

Humble Servant.

J.G.

# Advertisement.

His Letter was left out in the former Edition, the Publisher confining it to fewer Sheets, that there might be the more room left for Stories. But the forepart fo particularly satisfying Objections and Queries touching the stirs in Mr. Mompesson's House, and the rest being fo well levelled against Saducism and Atheism (the routing of which is the scope and design of the whole Book) and it being written with that smartness of Wit and foundness of Judgment for the main, I thought fit to take it in again in this new Edition of Saducismus Triumphatus.

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phatus, as a piece sufficiently congenerous thereto. And it is published unalteredly in every respect, unless in one word that was rather French than English, and so not so easie to pass with the vulgar. And now it is republished. I think it not amiss to bestow some sew Advertisements on it, as has been done on feveral other pieces of this Book.

Sect. 1. Those Objections you picke up, &c. Though the more perfect Narrative, in the last Edition, of the stirs of Tedworth, made this part of this Letter less necessary, yet if any one consider the particular satisfaction here given to every Objection and Query, and compare it with the aforesaid Narrative, I believe he will confess it was worth the while to take in again, in this fecond Edition,

this Letter omitted in the former.

Sect. 2. And must we call this Wit, Sir, &c. Certainly not Wisdom, nor Wit, in the better sense and meaning of the word, as it signifies a found and able Faculty of the Mind, whether natural or improved, to discern and judge of things. But the Wit that is so called now adays, is rather the Paralytick motions, or Antick Dances of that Faculty that is properly to be called Wit, than the genuine operations thereof, the demitting of that to meaner offices, which God has given us for better purposes. And as J. G. phrases it, to turn Drolls and Fidlers to the Atheist, to make his Worship merry. Which is a very mean imployment for so noble a Being as the Rational Soul of Man.

Sect. 3. For Government you know, Sir, &c. What the Writer of this Letter delivers in this Section, is worth the most serious consideration of all Men, that are not fo well affected to Government as they ought to Whose Authority is certainly most Sacred, and their Rule, if it be tolerable, exceeding commendable, those in high Places having such strong Temptations from the Flatteries and Circumventions of cunning Parafites and forcible Attempts of Things, whereby they are attacqued daily, and too often drawn into Mistakes

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before they are aware. Upon which, for others to infult, is a most savage and inhumane thing, and quite contrary to the Law of Charity, which is the indispenfable Rule of a Christian, who cannot but think such Demeanors as course and barbarous, as the sporting at a man's breaking a limb by a fall from an horse, or his being cast into some desperate sickness. Besides, that to sort at fuch things is to give themselves the Lye; and when they would pretend them great and heinous Misdemeanours, to acknowledge them more flight, else how could they be the due Object of Wit and Drollery. repeat it again, and indeed I have often and often thought of it, that Princes and grand Ministers of State that may feem to acquit themselves tolerably well, do really acquit themselves exceeding well, confidering the high Temptations, they have, and are worthy of all loyal Affection and Honour. ly then are those Princes to be honoured, and fincerely loved, who rule well, and have a real tender regard to the peace and welfare of all their Subjects. The other two parts of this Section are penned down fo full and home, and with that briskness and Judgement, that nothing can be added that may not feem superfluous.

Sect. 4. Such were the Platonick Anima Mundi, the Eternity and Immensity of the World, which, Sir, though I should not affirm, yet I would not at that time deny, &c. This Passage is set down with caution and discretion, in that he professes that these Concessions were only ad hominem, and made so good use of, that he caught his Adversary in his own Net, who being forced by dint of Argument to acknowledge that the Phænomena of the World could not but be from a knowing Principle, but casting it upon his Anima Mundi, to avoid the Profession of a Deity, by his granting, (because of the Eternity and Immensity of the Matter) this Anima to be immense and eternal, as well as knowing, he was forced to acknowledge, in a considerable fort, a Deity whether he would or no. Better thus far than to be a downright

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dull Atheist. But I must confess I do not hold any one an Orthodox Deist, that does not hold the Matter created of God, as well as contrived by his Wisdom into such

Phanomena as appear in the World.

Besides, he might have puzzled and confounded the Atheist in demonstrating that the World (being an orderly continuance of things in successive motion and duration) could not be ab aterno. First, because it is plain and undeniable, that in successive duration every moment that is past, was sometime present, and therefore, fince they all must be one after another that all, at least but one, were sometime to come. Which plainly evinces the World could not be ab aterno. Again, this is most certainly true, that be the World supposed as much ab aterno as you will, yet according to the order of Nature and Time, there was Life before there was any Death, and a Standing of Spirits before any Fall. He might here therefore demand of the Atheist how long it was e'er any Death was, or Laple of any order of Beings to a worse State. Was it an infinity of time before And thirdly, and lastly, If there has been an eternal and infinite Succession of time till now, how come we to find our felves in being. For if from us, suppose in the time B, backwards, the Succession is infinite, it is likewise infinite ab aterno, or from A to B. And as he can never come in Succession to A, backward from B, because it is infinite, so succession from A to B, being alike infinite, it could never come to our turn to be in Nothing but stable and unsuccessive duration can be infinite, where there is nothing past, nor to come. From this eternal NUNC STANS, wherein there is nothing to come, and which it is impossible to be fucceffive (and therefore nothing by supposing it successive can be really argued from it) doth successive duration commence, which it is alike impossible to be eternal or infinite.

Indeed if the Infinity was not in Succession, but at once as infinite Space, I grant that we might be in a fet point

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point of it, which would look like the term of, suppose, its Eastern Infinity butting upon us, from which Term you might conceive an infinite Line thence Eastward, and fuch as we not any other moveable thing could get to the end of, it being infinite. And as certain it is, that no moveable thing which took its motion absolutely from the Eastern Infinity, could ever come to us, or to the Point where we are, the length being as infinite forwards from the Eastern Infinity, as it is back again thitherward from us, there being the same distance, as Aristotle somewhere speaks, from Thebes to Athens, and from Athens to Thebes. Which further may illustrate the Impossibility of finding our felves here in Being, if the successive duration of the World has been ab eterno. For it being as infinite from A to B as from B to A, it is manifest it could never fall to our share to exist the time we do, it being an infinite distance from A and never to be run through. This Point of the Impossibility of successive Durations being eternal or infinite, it is sufficient that I but touch on it here, I having so fully handled it in my Enchiridion Metaphysicum, and clear'd it from all Objections and Evasions whatsoever. See cap. 10. and the Scholia thereon. Where also you may fee how little reason there is to hold the Matter of the World infinite, and that it is part of the Essential Sanctity and fingular Transcendency of the exalted Nature of God, that He alone be Eternal as to Duration, and Immense in Amplitude.

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And the suffering God to be an Anima Mundi, though it served J. G. his turn at that bout, yet this also is hugely against the Essential Sanstity of the Divine Majesty, whose excellency it is infinitely below, to grow, as it were, into one Suppositum with the visible World. Which errour might be the main Foundation or Prop of much of the Idolatry of the ancient Pagans. There is no Anima Mundi, but what is purely a Creature, and that is the Spirit of Nature, so far from being a God, that it scarce has any Perception but only an Omnisorm Mm 2

Plastick power, or Vital Laws of ordering the Matter of the World, imparted to it. essentially from the Wisdom of God. To call this an Anima Mundi, may be Sense good enough. But the Platonick Ocia Luxà, or Anima Divina, which answers to the Holy Spirit in our Christian Trinity, they are the third Hypostases of the pure Deity in both, of an eternal, necessary, and immutable Essence and Existence, and therefore in no wise are creatural, but purely Divine, and were before ever the World was or could be.

And now the World is, there is no need of any Hypoflatical Union betwixt the Platonick Divine Soul, and it,
to be conscious of what things happen here, or to moderate the Matter of the World. For the latter is done
by the Spirit of Nature, and the former requires no such
Union, since we our selves have the perception of what
is no part of our own Suppositum. But as we see things
reslected from a Looking-glass, our Eye having no Hypostatical Union therewith, so are all the Energies
of this exterior Creation reslected into the perception
of the Deity, without any such derogatory Union of
the Godhead therewith. According as is expressed in
Psychozoia, Cant. 1. Stanz. 50.

In this clear shining Mirrour Psyche sees
All that falls under Sense, what ere is done
Upon the Earth, the Desarts shaken Trees,
The mournful Winds, the solitary wonne
Of dreaded Beasts, the Libyan Lions moan,
When their hot Entrails scorch with hunger keen,
And they to God for Meat do deeply groan,
He hears their cry, he sees of them unseen,
His Eyes encompass all that in the wide World been.

He sees the weary Traveller sit down In the wast Field oft-times with careful chear, His chafed feet and the long way to Town His burning Thirst, Faintness, and Panick Fear,

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Because he sees not Him that stands so near, Fetch from his Soul deep sighs with count nance sad, But He looks on to whom nought doth dis pear. O happy Man that full perswasson had Of this, if right at home nought of him were ydrad.

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And then again, Stanz. 54. there is more expressly mention of this Mirrour even for the representing of Sounds to set out the perfectness of these exteriour Perceptions in the Divine Nature, that they are rather Ative than Passive, as Scaliger says the Sight is, though other Senses be not. Whence ie in signifying transitively, governs an Accusative Case, when other Verbs of sense govern a Genitive, as he is pleased to criticize. But the abovesaid Stanza is this.

Do not I see? I slumber not nor sleep,
Do not I hear? each noise by shady Night,
My Wittour represents, when Mortals steep
Their languid Limbs in Morpheus dull delight,
I hear such sounds as Adam's brood would fright.
The doleful Echo's from the hollow Hill,
Mock howling Wolves, the Woods with black delight,
Answer rough Pan his Pipe, and eke his Skill,
And all the Satyr-routs rude whoops and shoutings shrill.

According to that in the Book of Wisdom, chap. 1. v. 7. For the Spirit of the Lord fills the whole World, and he that containeth all things, hath knowledge of the Voice.

For as it is the height of the Excellency of the Divine Essence and Energy, not only to be infinite in itself, but also to be able to create another Essence with its Energy, distinct from itself, such as this orderly Universe is, so is it likewise the Persection of the Divine Knowledge, besides that Intellestual Omnisciency, which contains all the Natures and Ideas of things, and the whole comprehension of Providence, with the Series thereof from everlasting to everlasting all at once, unalterably and M m 4 immoveably;

Improveably, which Intellectual Life, or Energy in God. is the Alay of the Placonifts, and the true Notion of E. ternity, I fav, it is likewise the Perfection of the Divine Knowledge to have the Perception of all the Energies of the Creation, as well when they are in fieri, and that they are now in fieri, when they were not before, as in that Intellectual comprehension which is at once from everlasting to everlasting. For in an infinite Life as God is, there can be no distraction, his animadversion necessatily being infinite. And if we do not give this exterior Perception to him, we cannot be affored, that he knows when we pray unto him. Which methinks would be a foul defect, and a great damp to our Devotion. When as the other opinion does not only encourage Devotion. but naturally strikes also a due awe and reverence towards him in our Addresses.

I know there are some dry Contemplators that would have God to have no new Perceptions, provenata, left he might feem in a Phylical fense alterable or mutable. But these are the very Cobwebs and Quisquilia of the Schools, who thinned and spread every Attribute of God to as infinite excess as they could, forgetting that one necessary Measure of all his Attributes, That they be no further applied to him than they imply perfection. Which is a thing worth our most ferious consideration. And certainly it would be an Imperfection in God if he knew not things past that they are past, things present that they are prefent, and things to come, that they are yet to come. But he could not know them to be past when they were to come, or to be present when they are to come or past, or that they are yet to come when they are prefent. And therefore you must either make God ignorant of things here below, or make his exterior Perceptions change as the Scene of things change, ad extra, or else his Perceptions will prove false, which is intolerable to admit, either in Philosophy or Theology. Thus I have run out before I was aware, but I hope it is not an useless excursion. For nothing can move a Man more to do all things with

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with all Faithfulness and Decorum, both in private and before Men, than to remember that the All-present God is really a *Hearer* of his Words, and *Seer* of his Actions.

That he had run through the several Stages of modern Sects, not stopping till be came down to that fink of folly and madness Duakeriin, and thence made a step into Atheism, &c. This is a remarkable passage of his Letter, and worth our confidering. I must confess, that his expression here of the condition of Quakerism, is very sharp and Satyrical, to call it that fink of Madness and Folly. Which therefore I conceive he spake with an eye to their first appearance, which was very uncouth and frantick, and not at all like the appearance of the Apostles of 7efus Christ, but as it were of so many Demoniacks. Which Scene, though true, being so unpleasant, I will not repeat here, having spoke enough of it in my Mystery of Godlines, lib. 4. cap. 6. and lib. 10. cap. 13. And the precedent Story of him at Balfham, that was inveigled in Quakerism, is of the same suit. But to deal impartially touching them, if we take our measures from Robert Barklay's Apology, which represents them as they were when he wrote, which is not passing five or fix years ago, they are very much changed from what they were first, for the better, and a most just and impartial estimate I have made of them, and of their way, in my Scholia upon my Divine Dialogues, Dialog. 5. Sect. 15. Which he that is curious, may peruse in the second Tome of my Volumen Philosophicum. But that Apology of R. Barclay's, was many years after this Letter of Jofeph Glanvil to my felf, which may the better excuse him for the severity of this passage. And how natural and easie a step there is out of Enthusiasmi into Atheism, I have noted in my Enthusiasmus Triumphatus.

But of what danger it is to forfake the Communion of the Truly Catholick Church, such as is purged from the gross dregs of Antichristian Superstition and Idolatry, the example of him at Balsham and this Atheist,

whom

whom J. G. conversed with, are egregious Instances. To forfake the fentiments of the ancient Apoltolick Church (for fuch are the Reformed Churches freed from the filth of the predicted Apostasie, and such in a special manner is the Church of England) to follow any private Spirit is fuch a piece of folly and giddiness, that the extravagance thereof is above expression, and the danger fo obvious, that they must be very blind and stupid that discern it not at first fight. All are not born to be Philofophers or Theologers, and to have a faculty to decide Controversies by the edge of their own Wit and Reason. Wherefore it is both their duty and safety to adhere to the sense of the Church Catholick before the Apostalie, fuch as it was for about Four hundred years after Christ. Within which time the Divinity of Christ, and the Triunity of the Godhead was professed as publick Articles of the Church, and the distinction of Bishops and Presbyters owned. Whence it is demonstrable how innocent the one is, and how Orthodox the other. For if the Articles of the Divinity of Christ, and Triunity of the Godhead were false, they had also been Idolairous, and the Apostalie had begun much sooner than it is predicted to begin in that admirable Book of Prophecies, the Apocalypse. Nor were the late Reformation, which yet certainly it is (and I have undeniably demonstrated it in the Second Part of my Appendage to my Exposition of Daniel's Visions) the Rising of the Witnesses. For they had been strange Witnesses that should still profess the Divinity of Christ, and Triunity of the Godhead, if those Articles were falle, fince it necessarily follows that they were ipso facto, grofly Idolatrous; or retained Episcopacy, if it had been Antichristian. These things are so exceeding plain, that no man can deny them that has Parts and Leisure, and without prejudice considers them. And if the Secharies that pretend so much to the Spirit above others, had the Spirit of interpreting and understanding Prophecies aright, it would convince them of their Errour and Schism. But if this slowly goes down with them, they

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ti t they are to examine themselves, if it be not an Humour in them to deny any such Symmetral times of the Church, for about four hundred Years, that they may still find

matter for evernal Cavils and Schifms.

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But now the main Articles of our Faith being thus redoubledly assured to us, both by the Symmetricalness of the Primitive Times for about four hundred Years, and the Testimonies of the Risen Witnesses, of which Political Resurrection, neither Quaker, Familist, nor Socinian partook of, as appears by the Harmony of Confessions of the Resormed Churches, no resormed Church owning their Opinions, how just, how sober, and Christian a thing is it for every private Man to adhere to this common Faith touching these main Articles, and not to commit himself to these Ignes Fatur of private Spirits, which may lead him so about as at last to plunge him into the Dregs of Athersm, as it happened to this Gentleman?

That Spirit which leads from the Communion of the Antient Apostolick Church (which is as a light set upon an Hill, and fo certainly to be known by those two Characters abovementioned) and carries Men into the dark holes of Schismatical Conventicles, is most assuredly, let them pretend to what they will, a Spirit of Errour, and a delusion of the Devil, and a certain Symptome that fuch Men are Carnal, as highly as they think of themfelves, having not the Spirit, most assuredly having not the Spirit in that measure whereby they become such living Members of the true Catholick Church, which is the Body of Christ, that they plainly feel what hurts it, at least what palpably stops its growth, what wounds it, what hazards the very Life and being of it. they pretend to the Spirit of Christ, in any due measure, that are devoid of this necessary Sympathy and Sense of the common good of his Body, and the interest of his Kingdom, which is Reformed Christendom. The enemies whereof what do they desire? what do they endeavour more than to divide and subdivide us? to hurry us into **Opinions** 

Opinions and Practices as unlike the ancient Apostolick Church as may be; to make us appear as whimzical, and ungovernable as they can, thereby to expose us to contempt and loathing, and to harden the hearts of the Princes and Prelates of Christendom against a just Reformation, and those that have Reformed, to make them half sick and weary of the Reformation, by Reason of the unsettledness and distraction of the people. Does the Spirit of Christ then lead to the destroying, and laying waste his own Church and Kingdom? Certainly that Spirit that hinders the growth, and hazards the Being of the Kingdom of Christ, must be not the Spirit of God, but the Spirit of Giddiness, of Errour and Delusion.

Wherefore the ancient Authority of the Church, while it was Symmetral, is to be acknowledged, and those main points, touching Faith and Worship, to be adhered to, and professed, the Holy Ghost having set his Seal thereto in those Divine Prophecies of the Apocalypse, and this detestable Pride and loathsome Ingratitude (whenas things are so well settled by lawful Authority in the late Rising of the Witnesses) thus to break from so Authorited a Constitution, and set up Schismatical Congregations, is heartily to be repented of, nor are we any longer to be deluded by that salse Spirit, that under pretence of bringing in a more pure and Spiritual Dispensation, undermines and hazards the very Being of the true Kingdom of Christ, by this odious Spectacle of Multisarious Schisms.

It is not the breath of any meer Man that can convey the Spirit of God to us, and it is a false pretence of these high-shown Spiritualists, that think that in their Schismatical Worship they have nearer Communion with God, than those that adhere to the way of the Ancient Apostolick Faith and Practice. For they in their Meetings are but taught by Men, and those speaking the sense of a Private Spirit, they being Straglers from the Fold of Christ, as having bid adieu to the Ancient Catho-

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lick and Apostolick Church; Of which yet the Church of England, which they have forsaken, is a genuine part, and therefore its Ministry more safe and authoritative, they speaking the sense of the ancient Apostolick Church, not any blind Conceits or Fancies of their own. And for the saving Operations of the Spirit, nothing is more inculcated than that in our Publick Service. Nor is the Ministry of Man so much the Conveyer of it, as the Sincerity of the Party, who desires to partake of it. It is the Gift of Christ to the Sincere, who has told us from his own Mouth here upon Earth, That blessed are they which hunger and thirst after Righteousness, for they

hall be satisfied.

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It is not the hearing of a gracious Man once or twice a week, or being prefent sometimes in the Meetings. whether Silent or Vocal, of a Company of fullen Melancholists, or Histrionical Mock-Prophets, but a firm and unshaken Faith in the Power of the promised Spirit of Christ, for the subduing our Corruptions, a fixt and continued Resolution of not offending the God of Heaven in any thing finall or great, a close Guard upon our Words and Actions, as having a fense of the Presence of the Divine Majesty all the day long, a perpetual Exercise of mortifying the Impetuolities of our own Will, and of extinguishing all the fweet Relishes of Self-interest and Vain-glory, and a constant endeavour of wholly refigning our felves to God and his Service, who has wholly made us Body and Soul, and strictly and conscientioully walking according to His Will revealed in his written Word, that is the method of attaining to a more near Communion with God, and the only way of more fully participating of his Spirit. And this certainly may as well be done holding still Communion with the Church of England, as in any new-fangled Way, that either the Cunning of Man, or Subtility of Satan can invent. And therefore it is rather a wanton kind of Hypccrisie in Men, or Insincerity to true Religion indeed, that makes them break from the Establisht Religion of the Church

Church of England, reformed according to the old Symmetral and Apostolical Pattern, than any colour of Ne.

ceffity driving them thereto.

And thus much briefly to those high-flown Spiritua. lists. But what I now shall utter is still more weighty, foralmuch as it concerns a greater number of Men, that have an honest inclination to Religion, but their Education, Parts, and Calling does not capacitate them to make so strict inquiry into the Doctrines thereof, as others may make, but feek some External Authority to support their Faith, and thereby lye obnoxious to the folicitations of the Emissaries of Rome, who boast so much in the fafe Anchorage of their Church. To these Men therefore lappeal, what can be more fafe for them than to adhere to the Authority and Profession of the Ancient Apofolick, and truly Catholick Church, fuch as it was found before the Apostasie, and is born witness to in the Oracles of the Holy Scripture, as I have above declared; To adhere, I fay, and keep close to this steady Rock, and stop their Ears against the vain pretences of any idle Fanatical New-Lights, or bold Enthusiasts. that adheres to the Church of England, does adhere to this ancient Apostolick Church, the Church of England, being reformed to that Pattern, as to the Frame of Government, and Articles of Faith, and for the Precepts of an holy Life, besides what occurs in our Liturgy, Litany, and Catechism, they are so plain in the Scripture, and so fully and effectually declared by those of our own Church in Printed Sermons, and several other Writings, to say nothing of the good Preaching up and down, that no well-minded Christian can want any due Instruction.

This is a Consideration, the best accommodate, that I know, to keep us all in one, which is to acknowledge the Authority and Undeceivedness in matters of any moment, though not Undeceivableness or Infallibility of the ancient Catholick Church before the Apostasie came in. Which true and just ground will give us all the Advan-

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tages and more, than that false Boast of the Roman Church, as if She, forfooth, were Infallible, and therefore irrefragable. When as that one Tenent of Transubstantiation alone, sufficiently demonstrates it to be a hameless Pretence, that Doctrine being plainly a Fardel of Impossibilities and Contradictions, to say nothing of their infinite Superstitions, Impostures, and gross Idolatries, and barbarous and bloody Persecutions, and Murders, for not submitting to them. So that she is a Church all over besmeared with Sordidly-gainful Superstitions, Idolatries, and Blood. And therefore she being deprehended fo grofly and enormoully Erroneous or Imposturous and Deceirful, and supporting all her impious Opinions upon that fingle pretence of her Infallibility, the has manifestly forfeited her Credit before all the World, and most justly lost her Authority, that no Man can, unless he be bewitcht, lean upon this broken Reed of Egypt, which is a fictitious and certainly false pretence to Infallibility by an apostatized Church shamelessy obtruding upon those they can deceive, all the Abominations that are declared against in Daniel and the Apocalyple, where the Visions represent the state of those times into which this grand Apostasie fell. Blindness therefore or Madness is it in any Man to repose himself on the Authority of such a Church. open the Eves of all Men that mean fincerely in Religion, that they never fall into such a foul Ditch as this. But the Church of England keeping to the ancient Symmetral Church, to whom the Divine Oracles bear witness, is in truth infallible in the main Points abovementioned, and in all things else material to Salvation, and therefore all forts of People learned and unlearned may fafely embosom themselves in her so long as she continues fuch, which I wish may be for ever.

In the time we see what a mighty Advantage it would be if that, as our own Church in particular, so all the Reformed Churches would joyntly exhibite the same unexceptionable Pattern of Antiquity to be followed that

bears a just Authority with it, which the generality of Men may fafely rely on, and that Independency and the Guidance of private Spirits seducing Men from the National Churches fram'd to that ancient Platform, were quite out of fashion in all Reformed Christendom, and that all Men with alacrity of Mind, and fincerely loyal Affections, would flew themselves morigerous to their Supream Governours. For this is the only effectual and warrant. able way that I can conceive for the enlarging the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, and the over-throwing the Dominion of Antichrift. The other Scene of things, as I noted above, hardens the hearts of the Princes and Prelates of Christendom, who cannot but think it a forry Exchange to accept of Presbytery, which would prove but a Democratical Papacy, for the Order of Episcopacy, or a dismal Spectacle, to see the Body of Christ mouldered into an infinity of Sects and Schisms, as a dead Carcass dissolved into a multitude of crawling Worms, and the decent Grandeur and Splendour of the Church to dwindle into dispersed Companies of obscure Conventicles, and the just and honourable Revenues of it, to shrink into the poor Arbitrarious Pittancies of either the appointment of the State, or uncertain Benevolence of the Fickle People. That Scene of things, I fay, cannot but harden their hearts against listening to never so just a Reformation for the further enlargement of Christ's Kingdom, and hazzard the very Being of the Reformed Churches. Whenas this way, which I wish may obtain, would filence Atheism and Fanaticism at once, and be the readiest means of bringing on those happy times of the Church which God has promifed and predicted by the Mouth of his holy Prophets.

But this is the gross Iniquity and Madness of the Sectaries, that they think so goodly and choicely every one of their own Party, that they think it worth the while to hazard the safety of Reformed Christendom to support any how, and keep up for the present, the small freaks and conceits of their own self-chosen Way and

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Sect. Than which nothing can be conceived more enormous and outragious amongst the dealings of the Sons of Men, to bring into imminent danger so solemn and sacrofanct a Constitution as the Reformation, for the dreams and opinions of private Spirits, which no fober Christian would hazard for small indifferent dispensable things, though they had the stamp of publick allowance upon them, which it is, and ought to be, in the hand of the Sovereign Power to alter for the common good. And verily this Fanatical distemper is so heinous and abominable, that they that are on the right side, ought to take heed how in the least shew they imitate it. For a Man may be factiously affected, even in a right cause, and bear an over-proportionated zeal for things of smaller concern, out of an over-heightned Animolity against the present Sects, to the hazarding of the quiet settlement of the And, if any one be so affected, I appeal to the sober, if he may not justly be reputed to play the Sectarian himself, though it be against the Sectaries. No such Cure for our Breaches and Wounds as the most profound Humility in all Parties, and unfeigned mutual Love and Charity. Of which Virtues or Graces whosoever is found destitute, let him call himself (of whatever denomination) Christian, as loud as he please, he has really in him not one spark of faving Christianity.

Thus have I run out again further than I was aware of, one thing drawing on another. But I hope I have hit on some things, which if seriously considered, and duly improved by those that are most concerned, may contribute their share, to the peace and settlement of the Church of Christ, which should be the aim and desire of

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# ACCOUNT

Of what happen'd in the

# KINGDOM

O F

# SWEDEN

In the Years 1669, 1670. and upwards.

IN

Relation to some Persons that were accused for WITCHES;

AND

# Tryed and Executed

By the King's Command.

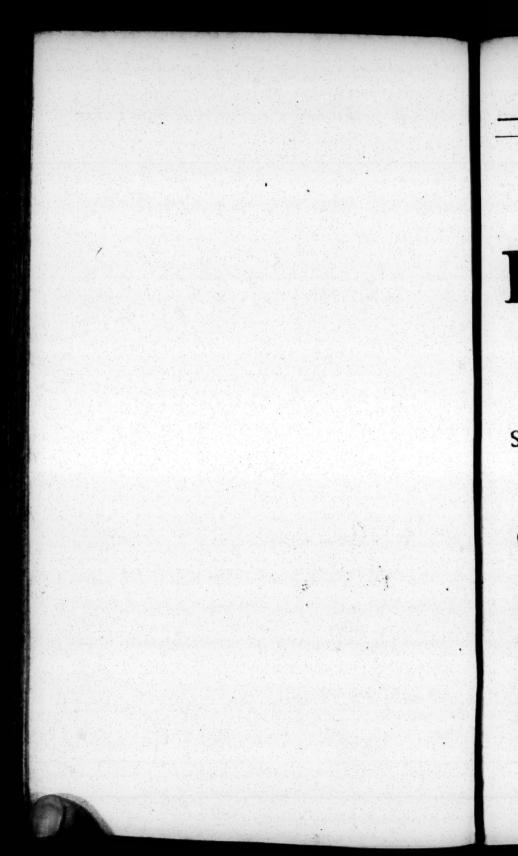
Together with the Particulars of a very fad Accident that befel a Boy at Malmoe in Schonen, in the Year 1678. by the means of Witchcraft, attested by the Ablestand most Judicious Men of that Town.

Both Translated out of High-Dutch into English.

By Anthony Horneck, D. D.

LONDON,

Printed for S. Lownds, M DC LXXXVIII.



## THE

# TRANSLATOR'S

# PREFACE

TO THE

# READER,

Shewing what Credit may be given to the Matter of Fact, related in the ensuing Narrative.

Hat we are to believe nothing, but what we have seen, is a Rule so false, that we dare not call our selves rational Creatures, and avouch it; yet as irrational as the Maxim is, 'tis become modish with some Men, and those no very mean Wits neither, to make use of it; and though they will hardly own it in its full Latitude, yet when it comes to Particulars, let the Reasons to the contrary be never so pregnant or convincing, they'll hugg it as their sacred Anchor, and laugh at all those credulous Wretches, that without N n 2

feeing, are so easily chous'd into an imprudent Confidence. And this pitiful Stratagem we find practifed in no affair so much, as that of Spirits and Witches and Apparitions, which must all be Fancies, and Hypochondriack Dreams, and the Effects of distempered Brains, because their own are so dull as not to be able to pierce into those Mysteries. I do not deny but the Imagination may be, and is sometime deluded; and melancholy People may fancy they hear Voices, and see very strange things, which have no other Foundation but their own Weakness, and like Bubbles break into Air, and nothing, by their own vanity.

Tet as no Man doth therefore take unpolisht Diamonds to be Pebbles, because they do look like them, so neither must all Passages of this nature, we hear or read of, be traduced as Self-conceit, or derided as Old Wives Fables, because some smell strong of Imposture and Sophistication. We believe men of Reason and Experience, and free from Fumes, when a Person of ordinary Intellectuals finds no great credit with us; and if we think our selves wise for so doing, why should any Man so much forget himself, as to be an Infidel in point of such Phenomena's, when even the most judicious Men have had experience in such Passages? It seems to me no less than Madness to contradict what both wife and unwife Men do unanimously agree in; and how Jews, Heathens, Mahometans, and Christians, both learned and unlearned, should come to conspire into this Cheat, as yet seems to me unaccountable. If some few few M Ghoft! what but t when Relig fron Occu the in 1 Eff Pl W wi W Se

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few Melancholy Monks, or old Women had seen such Ghosts and Apparitions, we might then suspect, that what they pretend to have seen might be nothing, but the effect of a disordered Imagination; but when the whole World, as it were, and Men of all Religions, Men of all Ages too, have been forced by strong Evidences, to acknowledge the truth of such Occurrences, I know not what strength there can be in the Argument, drawn from the consent of Nations in things of a sublimer nature, if here it be of no Efficacy. Men that have attempted to evade the Places of Scripture, which speak of Ghosts and Witches, we see, how they are forced to turn and wind the Texts, and make in a manner Noses of Wax of them, and rather squeeze than gather the Sense, as if the holy Writers had spoke like Sophisters, and not like Men, who made it their Business to condescend to the capacity of the Common people. Let a Man put no force at all on those Passages of holy Writ, and then try what Sense they are like to yield. It is strange to see, how some Men have endeavoured to elude the story of the Witch of Endor; and as far as I can judge, play more Hocus-pocus Tricks in the Explication of that Passage, than the Witch herself did in raising the deceased Samuel. To those Straits is Falshood driven, while Truth loves Plain, and undisguised Expressions; and Errour will seek out Holes and Labyrinths to hide it self, while Truth plays above-board, and scorns the Jubterfuges of the Sceptick Interpreter. Men and Brethren, why should it seem a thing incredible with you, that God should permit Spirits to appear, Nn 4 and

and the Devil to exert his Power among Men on Earth? Hath God ever engaged his Word to the contrary? Or is it against the nature of Spirits to form themselves new Vehicles and visible Shapes, or to animate grosser Substances to shew themselves to

Mortals upon certain Occasions?

I am so much a Prophet, as to foresee what will be the Fate of the ensuing Story, nor can I suppose that upon the reading of it, Mens Verdicts will be much changed from what they were, if they have set up this Resolution, to believe nothing that looks like the shadow of an Apparition, though the things mentioned here, cannot be unknown to any that have been conversant with foreign Affairs of late Tears. And though there cannot be a greater Evidence, than the Testimony of a whole Kingdom, yet your nicer Men will think it a Disparagement to them to believe it; nor will it ever extort Assent from any, that build the Reputation of their Wit upon contradicting what hath been received by the vulgar.

The Passages here related wrought so great a Consternation, not only on the Natives, but Strangers too, that the Heer Christian Rumps, then
Resident for the States General at Stockholm,
thought himself obliged to send away his little
Son for Holland, lest he should be endangered by
those villanous Practices, which seem'd to threaten
all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom. And he that
doubts of it may be satisfied at Dr. Harrel's in St.
James's Park, to whom the Letter was written. And a
Friend of mine in Town, being then in Holstein, remembers

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members very well that the Duke of Holstein sent an Express to the King of Sweden, to know the truth of this famous Witchcraft: To whom the King modestly replyed, That his Judges and Commissioners had caused divers Men, Women, and Children to be burnt and executed upon such pregnant Evidences, as were brought before them; but whether the Actions they confessed, and which were proved against them, were real, or only Essets of strong Imagination, he was not as yet able to determine.

Add to all this, that the Circumstances mentioned in the ensuing Narrative, as I am informed, are at this day to be seen in the Royal Chancery at Stockholm; and a Person of my Acquaintance offered to procure me a Copy of them under the hands of publick Registers, if I desired it: Not to mention that in the year 72. Baron Sparr, who was fent Embassadour from the Crown of Sweden to the Court of England, did upon his Word aver the Matter of Fact recorded here, to be undoubtedly true, to several Persons of Note and Eminency, with other Particulars, stranger than those set down in these Papers. And to this Purpose divers Letters were sent from Sweden and Hamburgh to several Persons here in London; insomuch, that should a Man born in, or acquainted with those Parts, hear any Person dispute the Truth of it, he would wonder where People have lived, or what fullen Humour doth possess them, to disbelieve that, which so many thousands in that Kingdom have felt the sad Effect of.

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Since the first Edition, it hath been my fortune to be acquainted with the Lord Leyonbergh, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Sweden, living in York Buildings, with whom discoursing about these Affairs, I found that the Account he gave, agreed, for the most part, with what is mentioned in the Narrative; and because his Testimony, being a publick Person, may be of some moment in a thing relating to that Kingdom, I have here set it down in his own Words.

Having read this Narrative, I could do no less, than upon the Request of the Translator and Publisher of this Story, acknowledge, that to my best Remembrance, and according to the best Reports that have been made to me, the Matter of Fact mentioned in it, is true, and that the Witches confessed such things, and were accordingly Executed. Witness my Hand,

London, March 8. 1682.

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I do not take upon me to justifie the Truth of what the Witches said, for dealing with the Father of Lies, it's probable, Veracity is not a Vertue, that they greatly study, yet that the Devil speaks truth sometimes, is a thing so far from being impossible, that if we give credit to the Sacred History, we must grant that all, he saith, is not False, or Erroneous. All, I design, at this time, is only to suggest that it is not altogether irrational to conceive, that he, or his Emissaries are capable of such Actions and Pranks, as are related

in these Papers.

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That a Spirit can lift up Men and Women, and grosser Substances, and convey them through the Air, I question no more, than I doubt that the Wind can overthrow Honses, or drive Stones, and other heavy Bodies upward from their Centre. And were I to make a person of a dull understanding, apprehend the nature of a Spirit, I would represent it to him under the Notion of an Intelligent Wind, or a strong Wind, informed by a highly Rational Soul; as a Man may be called an intelligent piece of Earth. And this Notion David seemed to favour, when speaking of these Creatures, Psalm 104. 4. he tells us, that God makes his Angels Wind, for in the Original it's and most certainly if they be so, they must be reasonable windy Substances; nor doth the Expression, which immediately follows, in that Verse, cross this Exposition, viz. That he makes his Ministers a flaming Fire; for it's no new Opinion, that some of those invisible Substances are of a Fiery, and others of an Aiery Nature; and as we see, God. gives Rational Creatures here on Earth, Bodies composed of grosser Matter, why should it seem incongruous

gruous for him to give Rational Creatures above us. Bodies of a subtiler and thinner Matter, or such Matter, as those higher Regions do afford? and if Wind breaking forth from the Caverns of Hills and Mountains have such force, as makes us very often stand amazed at the effects, what Energy might me suppose to be in Wind, were it inform'd by Reason,

or a Reasonable Being?

And though I cannot comprehend the Philosophy of the Devils committing Venereal Acts, and having Children, and those Children upon their Copulation bringing forth Toads and Serpents, yet I can very rationally conceive, that having more than ordinary power over Matter, he can either animate dead Bodies, and by the help of them commit those Villanies, which modesty bids us to conceal; or some other way compound, and thicken Atomes into what Shape he pleases, especially if he meet with no hinderance from a higher power. And he that was permitted, as we see in the Gospel, to possess and actuate living Men, and do with them almost what he pleased, why may not be commit wickedness by such Instruments, and cast Mists before the Witches eyes, that they may not know who they are? And he that could in Ægypt produce Frogs, either real or counterfeit ones, Why may not he be supposed to be able to produce such Toads and Serpents out of any mis-shapen Creatures, and Lumps of Matter, of his own compounding, at least represent the shapes of them to the deluded Witches, that they shall imagine them to be really such things, as they seem to be. Nor is this to be admired in the Devil more than Tricks are in Jugglers, who by slight of Art can can whi they De Jug

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can represent things to the ignorant Spectator, which he shall be ready to swear to be real, though they are nothing less, and I suppose we may allow the Devil a greater degree of cunning, than an ordinary

Juggler.

However, Spirits that know the nature of material things better than the deepest Philosophers, and understand better, how things are joined, and compounded, and what the Ingredients of terrestrial Productions are, and see things (grosser things at least) in their first principles, and have power over the Air, and other Elements, and have a thousand ways of shaping things and representing them to the external Senses of vicious Men, what may not they be supposed to be able to do, (if they have but God's permission to exert their power) and that God doth sometimes permit such things, we have reason to believe, who read what Signs and Wonders Simon Magus, and Apollonius Tyanæus wrought by the power of darkness, and how not a few men sin to that degree, that God suffers them to be led captive by the Devil, and dooms them to that slavery we read of in the Revelation, He that is filthy, let him be filthy still.

Spirits by being Devils do not lose their nature; and let any man in sober sadness consider, what Spirits are said to be able to do in Scripture, and what they have done, and compare those passages with what is said in the following Relation, and he will not think those things, the Witches confessed, altogether impossible.

things, the Witches confessed, altogether impossible. Tet still, as I said before, I do not pretend to be their Advocate, but shall leave it to the Reader to judge of the truth, or untruth of their Confessions, as

he sees occasion, only beg of him not to condemn every thing as a falshood, before due consideration of what

Spirits are capable of doing.

That in so great a multitude as were Accused, Condemned, and Executed for Witches, there might be Some who suffered unjustly, and owed their death more to the Malice of their Neighbours, than to their Skill in the Black Art, I will readily grant; nor will I deny, that when the News of these Transactions, and how the Children bewitched, fell into Fits, and strange unusual Postures, Spread abroad in the Kingdom, some fearful and credulous People, if they saw their Children any way disordered, might think they were bewitched, or ready to be carried away by Imps; This happens in all consternations, and our fears make us see that, which unbyassed Eyes cannot perceive; and of this, a Gentleman, who was an Ear-witness, gave me this instance, of a Minister's Child of his Acquaintance not far from Stockholm, who being told, and assured by his Wife, that the Child was carried to Blockula every night, and convey'd back into his bed again, resolved to sit up with the Boy, and see whether any Devil durst be so bold as to snatch him out of his Arms. The Child went to Bed, and between twelve and one of the Clock at night, began to groan in his sleep, and seemed to shiver a little, at the sight whereof the Mother began to weep and mourn, thinking that the Child was just going to be snatcht away, but het Husband smiling at the Conceit, and pleading with her, that the Child's laying his Arms out of Bed might be the cause of these symptomes, took the Child in his Arms, and there kept him till towards two or three of the Clock; but no Spirit came or meddled with him, yet of scale Pe

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yet was his Wife so possessed with the conceit, or fear of Transportation, that his strongest Arguments could scarce make her believe the contrary; and the same Person, (a near Relation of the aforesaid Envoy) added, how much Malice and Ill-Nature was able to effect, whereof he gave this Example, which himself faw, and could testifie the truth of, viz. how in the year, 1676. at Stockholme, a young Woman accused her own Mother of being a Witch, and swore positively, that she carrried her away at night; whereupon both the Judges and Ministers of the Town exhorted her to Confession and Repentance; But she stiffy denied the Allegations, pleaded Innocence, and though they burnt another Witch before her Face, and lighted the Fire, she her self was to burn in, before her, yet she still justified her self, and continued to do so to the last, and continuing so, was burnt. She had indeed been a very bad Woman, but it seems this crime she was free from, for within a fortnight, or three weeks after, her Daughter which had accused her, came to the Judges in open Court (weeping and howling) and confessed that she had wronged her Mother, and unjustly out of a spleen, she had against her for not gratifying her in a thing, she desired, had charged her with that Crime which she was as innocent of, as the Child unborn; whereupon the Judges gave order for her execution too.

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There is no publick Calamity, but some ill People will serve themselves of the sad Providence, and make use of it for their own ends, as Thieves, when a House or Town is on Fire, will steal and silch what they can; yet as there is no Fable, but hath some Foundation

Foundation in History, so when wicked people make use of such Arguments against the persons they hate, it's a sign there was such a thing, that gave them occasion to six the calumny; and had not such things been done before, they could not have any colour for their Villany.

I could add a known passage, that happen'd in the year 1659. at Crossen in Silesia, of an Apothecary's Servant. The chief Magistrate of that Town at that time was the Princes Elizabeth Charlotta, a person famous in her generation. In the Spring of the year one Christopher Monigk, a Native of Serbest, a Town belonging to the Prinses of Anhalt, Sérvant to an Apothecary, died and was buried with the usual Ceremonies of the Lutheran Church. A few days after his decease, a shape exactly like bim in face, cloths, stature, mien, &c. appeared in the Apothecary's Shop, where he would fet himself down, and walk sometimes, and take the Boxes, Pots, Glasses off of the Shelves, and set them again in their places, and sometimes try, and examine the goodness of the Medicines, weigh them in a pair of Scales, pound the Druggs with a mighty noise in a Mortar, nay, serve the people, that came with their Bills to the Shop, take their Money, and lay it up safe in the Counter; in a word, do all things that a fourneyman in such cases uses to do. He looked very ghastly upon those, that had been his Fellow Servants, who were afraid to say any thing to him; and his Master being sick at that time of the Gout, he was often very troublesome to him, would take the Bills that were brought him, out of his hand, snatch away the Candle sometimes, and put it behind the Stove; At

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#### The Preface.

last; he took a Cloak that hung in the Shop, put it on and walked abroad, but minding no body in the Streets, went along, entred into some of the Citizens Houses, and thrust himself into Company, especially of such as he had formerly known, yet saluted no body, nor spoke to any one but to a Maid-Servant, whom he met hard by the Church yard, and defired to go home to his Master's house, and dig in a Ground-Chamber, where the would find an ineltimable Treasure; but the Maid amazed at the light of him, swounded; whereupon he lift her up, but left Such a mark upon her Flesh with lifting her, that it was to be seen for some time after. The Maid having recovered her self, went home, but fell desperately sick upon it, and in her Sickness discovered what Monigk had said to her; and accordingly they digged in the place, she had named, but found nothing but an old decayed Pot, with a Hæmatites or Blood-Stone in it. The Princess hereupon caused the young Man's body to be digged up, which they found putrefied with purulent Matter, flowing from it; and the Master being advised to remove the young Man's Goods, Linen, Cloths, and things, he left behind him when he died, out of the House, the Spirit thereupon left the House, and was heard of no more. And this some people now living will take their Oath upon, who very well remember they saw him after his decease, and the thing being so no-

torious, there was instituted a publick

Disputation about it in the Academy
of Leipsig \*, by one Henry Conrad,
who disputed for his Doctor's Degree in the University. And this

\* By reason of my absence from the Pres, there was a mistake in the former Edition, where it is Wittemberg.

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#### The Preface.

puts me in mind of an Apothecary at Reichenbach in Silesia, about fifteen years ago (I had it from a very credible Witness) who after his death appeared to divers of his acquaintance, and cryed out, that in his life time he had poisoned several Men with his Drugs. Whereupon the Magistrates of the Town after consultation, took up his Body, and burnt it; which being done, the Spirit disappeared, and was seen no more. But if the Stories related in the preceding Book are not sufficient to convince Men, I am sure an example from beyond Sea will gain no credit. It's enough that I have shewn Reasons which may induce my Reader to be lieve that he is not imposed upon by the following Narrative; and that it is not in the nature of those Pamphlets, they cry about the Streets, containing very dreadful News from the Country, of Armies fighting in the Air.

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# RELATION

OF THE

## Strange Witchcraft

Discovered in the

### Village Mobra in Swedeland,

Taken out of the publick Register of the Lords Commissioners, appointed by his Majesty the King of Sweden, to examine the whole business, in the Years of our Lord 1669. and 1670.

HE News of this Witchcraft coming to the King's Ear, his Majesty was pleased to appoint Commissioners, some of the Clergy, and some of the Laity, to make a Journey to the Town aforesaid, and to examine the whole business; and accordingly the Examination was ordered to be on the 13th of August; and the Commissioners met on the 12th instant, in the said Village, at the Parson's House, to whom both the Minister and several people of sashion complained with tears in their Eyes, of he miterable condition they were in, and therefore begg'd of them to think of some way, whereby they might be delivered from that Calamity. They gave the Commissioners very strange Instances of the Devils Tyranny among them;

how by the help of Witches, he had drawn some Hundreds of Children to him, and made them subject to his power; how he hath been feen to go in a visible shape through the Country, and appeared daily to the people: how he had wrought upon the poorer fort, by prefenting them with Meat and Drink, and this way allured them to himself, with other circumstances to be mentioned hereafter. The Inhabitants of the Village added, with very great lamentations, that though their Children had told all, and themselves sought God very earneftly by Prayer, yet they were carried away by him; and therefore begg'd of the Lords Commissioners to root out this hellish Crew, that they might regain their former rest and quietness; and the rather, because the Children which used to be carried away in the County or District of Elfdale, since some Witches had been burnt there, remained unmolested.

That day, i.e. the 13th of August, being the last Humiliation-day Instituted by Authority for removing of this Judgment, the Commissioners went to Church, where there appeared a considerable Assembly both of young and old: the Children could read most of them, and sing Psalms, and so could the Women, though not with any great zeal or fervor. There were preached two Sermons that day, in which the miserable case of those people, that suffered themselves to be deluded by the Devil, was laid open; and these Sermons were at

last concluded with very fervent Prayer.

The Publick Worship being over, all the people of the Town were called together to the Parson's House, near Three thousand of them. Silence being Commanded, the King's Commission was read publickly in the hearing of them all, and they were charged under very great Penalties to conceal nothing of what they knew, and to say nothing but the truth; those especially, who were guilty, that the Children might be delivered from the Clutches of the Devil. They all promised obedience; the guilty seignedly, but the guiltless weeping and crying bitterly.

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mi W On the 14th of August the Commissioners met again, consulting how they might withstand this dangerous Flood; after long deliberation, an Order also coming from his Majesty, they did resolve to execute such, as the matter of fact could be proved upon; Examination being made, there were discovered no less than Three-score and ten in the Village aforesaid, Three and twenty of which freely confessing their Crimes, were condemned to dye; the rest, one pretending she was with Child, and the other denying and pleading not guilty, were sent to Fahluna, where most of them were afterwards Executed.

Fifteen Children which likewise confessed that they were engaged in this Witchery, died as the rest; Six and thirty of them between nine and sixteen years of age, who had been less guilty, were forced to run the Gantlet; Twenty more, who had no great inclination, yet had been seduced to those hellish Enterprizes, because they were very young, were Condemned to be lash'd with Rods upon their hands, for three Sundays together at the Church-door; and the aforesaid Six and thirty were also doom'd to be lashed this way once a Week for a whole Year together. The number of the Seduced Children was about Three hundred.

On the twenty fifth of August, Execution was done upon the notoriously guilty, the day being bright and glorious, and the Sun shining, and some thousands of people being present at the Spectacle. The Order and

Method observed in the Examination was thus:

First, The Commissioners and the Neighbouring Justices went to Prayer; this done, the Witches, who had most of them Children with them, which they either had Seduced, or attempted to Seduce, from four years of age to sixteen, were set before them. Some of the Children complained lamentably of the misery and mischief they were forced sometime to suffer of the Witches.

The Children being asked whether they were fure,

that they were at any time carried away by the Devil; they all declared they were, begging of the Commissioners that they might be freed from that intolerable

Slavery.

Hereupon the Witches themselves were asked, whether the Consessions of these Children, were true, and admonished to consess the truth, that they might turn away from the Devil unto the living God. At first, most of them did very stiffy, and without shedding the least Tear deny it, though much against their Will and Inclination.

After this, the Children were Examined, every one by themselves, to see whether their Confession did agree or no; and the Commissioners sound that all of them, except some very little ones, who could not tell all the Circumstances, did punctually agree in the confession of Particulars.

In the mean while the Commissioners that were of the Clergy examined the Witches, but could not bring them to any Confession, all continuing stedsast in their denyals, till at last some of them burst out into Tears, and their Confession agreed with what the Children had said. And these expressed their Abhorrency of the Fact, and begg'd pardon; adding, that the Devil, whom they call'd Loeyta, had stopt the Mouths of some of them, and stopt the Ears of others; and being now gone from them, they could no longer conceal it, for they now perceived his Treachery.

The Confession which the Witches made in Elfdale, to the Judges there, agreed with the Confession they made at Mohra: and the chief things they confessed con-

fifted in these three Points.

1. Whither they used to go?

2. What kind of Place it was, they went to, called by them Blockula, where the Witches and the Devil used to meet.

3. What Evil or Mischief they had either done or defigned there.

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## 1. Of their Journey to Blockula. The Contents of their Confession.

We used to go to a Gravel-pit which lay hard by a cross-way, and there we put on a Vest over our Heads, and then danced round, and after this ran to the Cross-way, and called the Devil thrice, first with a still Voice, the second time somewhat louder, and the third time very loud, with these Words, Antecessour, come and carry us to Blockula. Whereupon, immediately he used to appear, but in different Habits; but for the most part we saw him in a gray Coat, and red and blue Stockings: He had a red Beard, a high-crown'd Hat, with Linnen of divers Colours, wrapt about it, and long Garters upon his Stockings.

Then he asked us, whether we would ferve him with Soul and Body. If we were content to do fo, he fet us on a Peast which he had there ready, and carried us over Churches and high Walls; and after all we came to a green Meadow, where Blockula lies. We must procure some Scrapings of Altars, and Filings of Church-Clocks; and then he gives us a Horn with a Salve in it, wherewith we do anoint our selves; and a Saddle, with a Hammer and a wooden Nail, thereby to fix the Saddle; whereupon we call upon the Devil and away we go.

Those that were of the Town of Mohra, made in a manner the same Declaration: Being asked whether they were sure of a real personal Transportation, and whether they were awake when it was done; they all answered in the Affirmative, and that the Devil sometimes laid something down in the Place that was very like them. But one of them confessed, that he did only take away her Strength, and her Body lay still upon the Ground; yet sometimes he took even her Body with him.

Being asked, how they could go with their Bodies
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through Chimneys and broken Panes of Glass, they said, that the Devil did first remove all that might hinder them in their slight, and so they had room

enough to go.

Others were asked, how they were able to carry formany Children with them; and they answered, that when the Children were asleep they came into the Chamber, laid hold of the Children, which straightway did awake, and asked them whether they would go to a Feast with them? to which some answered Yes, others No; yet they were all forced to go. They only gave the Children a Shirt, a Coat, and a Doublet, which was either red or blue, and so they did set them upon a Beast of the Devil's providing, and then they rid away.

The Children confessed the same thing; and some added, that because they had very fine Cloaths put up-

on them, they were very willing to go.

Some of the Children concealed it from their Parents,

but others discover'd it to them presently.

The Witches declared moreover, that till of late they never had that power to carry away Children, but only this Year and the last, and the Devil did at this time force them to it; that heretofore it was sufficient to carry but one of their Children, or a Stranger's Child with them, which yet happened seldom, but now he did plague them and whip them if they did not procure him Children, insomuch that they had no peace nor quiet for him; and whereas formerly one Journey a Week would serve turn, from their own Town to the place aforesaid, now they were forced to run to other Towns and Places for Children, and that they brought with them, some fifteen, some sixteen Children every night.

For their Journey, they said they made use of all sorts of Instruments, of Beasts, of Men, of Spits and Posts, according as they had opportunity: if they do ride upon Goats, and have many Children with them, that all

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may have Room, they stick a Spit into the back-side of the Goat, and then are anointed with the aforesaid Ointment. What the manner of their Journey is, God alone knows: Thus much was made out, That if the Children did at any time name the Names of those that had carried them away; they were again carried by force either to Blockula, or to the Cross-way, and there miferably beaten, insomuch that some of them died of it: and this some of the Witches confessed; and added, That now they were exceedingly troubled and tortured in their minds for it.

The Children thus used lookt mighty bleak, wan, and beaten. The marks of the Lashes, the Judges could not perceive in them, except in one Boy, who had some Wounds and Holes in his Back, that were given him with Thorns; but the Witches said, they

would quickly vanish.

After this usage the Children are exceeding weak; and if any be carried over-night, they cannot recover themselves the next day; and they often fall into Fits, the coming of which they know by an extraordinary Paleness that seizes on the Children; and if a Fit comes upon them, they lean on their Mothers Arms, who sit up with them sometimes all night; and when they observe the Paleness coming, shake the Children, but to no pur-

pose.

They observe further, that their Childrens Breasts grow cold at such times; and they take sometimes a burning Candle and stick it in their hair, which yet is not burnt by it. They swoun upon this Paleness, which Swoun lasteth sometimes half an hour, sometimes an hour, sometimes two hours, and when the Children come to themselves again, they mourn and lament, and groan most miserably, and beg exceedingly to be eased: This two old Men declared upon Oath before the Judges, and called all the Inhabitants of the Town to witness, as Persons that had most of them experience of this strange Symptome of their Children.

A little

A little Girl of Elfdale confessed, That naming the name of JESUS as she was carried away, she fell suddenly upon the Ground, and got a great hole in her Side, which the Devil presently healed up again, and away he carried her; and to this day the Girl confessed, she had exceeding great pain in her Side.

Another Boy confessed too, That one day he was carried away by his Mistress, and to perform the Journey, he took his own Fathers Horse out of the Meadow where it was, and upon his return, she let the Horse go in her

own ground.

The next Morning the Boys Father fought for his Horfe, and not finding it, gave it over for lost; but the Boy told him the whole story, and so his Father fetcht the Horse back again; and this one of the Witches confessed.

2. Of the place where they used to assemble, called Blockula, and what they did there.

They unanimously confessed, that Blockula is situated in a delicate large Meadow, whereof you can see no end. The place or House they met at, had before it a Gate painted with divers Colours; through this Gate they went into a little Meadow distinct from the other, where the Beasts went, that they used to ride on: But the Men whom they made use of in their Journey, stood in the House by the Gate in a slumbering posture, sleeping against the Wall.

In a huge large Room of this House, they said, there stood a very long Table, at which the Witches did sit down: And that hard by this Room was another Chamber, where there were very lovely and delicate

Beds.

The first thing they said, they must do at Blockula, was, That they must deny all, and devote themselves Body and Soul to the Devil, and promise to serve him faithfully, and consirm all this with an Oath. Hereupon they

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cut their Fingers, and with their Bloud writ their Name in his Book. They added, that he caused them to be Baptized too by such Priests as he had there, and made them confirm their Baptism with dreadful Oaths and

Imprecations.

Hereupon the Devil gave them a Purse, wherein there were filings of Clocks with a Stone tied to it, which they threw into the Water, and then were forced to speak these words; As these silings of the Clock do never return to the Clock from which they are taken, so may my Soul never return to Heaven. To which they add Blasphemy and other Oaths and Curses.

The mark of their cut Fingers is not found in all of them: But a Girl who had been slashed over her Finger, declared, that because she would not stretch out her Finger, the Devil in anger had so cruelly woun-

ded it.

After this they sate down to Table; and those that the Devil esteemed most, were placed nearest to him; but the Children must stand at the door, where he him-

felf gives them Meat and Drink.

The Diet they did use to have there, was, they said, Broth with Colworts and Bacon in it, Oatmeal, Bread spread with Butter, Milk, and Cheese. And they added, that sometimes it tasted very well, and sometimes very ill. After Meals they went to Dancing, and in the mean while Swore and Cursed most dreadfully, and af-

terward went to fighting one with another.

Those of Elfdale confessed, That the Devil used to play upon an Harp before them, and afterwards to go with them that he liked best, into a Chamber, where he committed venereous Acts with them; and this indeed all confessed, That he had carnal knowledge of them, and that the Devil had Sons and Daughters by them, which he did Marry together, and they did couple, and brought forth Toads and Serpents.

One day the Devil feemed to be dead, whereupon there were great lamentations at Blockula; but he foon

awaked

awaked again. If he hath a mind to be merry with them, he lets them all ride upon Spits before him; takes afterwards the Spits and beats them black and blue, and then laughs at them. And he bids them believe, that the day of Judgment will come speedily, and therefore sets them to work to build a great House of Stone, promifing, that in that House he will preserve them from God's Fury, and cause them to enjoy the greatest Delights and Pleasures: but while they work exceeding hard at it, there falls a great part of the Wall down again, whereby some of the Witches are commonly hurt which makes him laugh, but presently he cures them again.

They said, they had seen sometimes a very great Devil like a Dragon, with Fire round about him, and bound with an Iron Chain; and the Devil, that converses with them tells them, that if they confess any thing, he will let that great Devil loose upon them, whereby all Sweed-

land shall come into great danger.

They added, That the Devil had a Church there, fuch another as in the Town of Mohra. When the Commissioners were coming he told the Witches, they should not fear them; for he would certainly kill them all. And they confessed, that some of them had attempted to murther the Commissioners, but had not been able to effect it.

Some of the Children talked much of a white Angel, which used to forbid them what the Devil had bid them do, and told them that those doings would not last long: what had been done was permitted because of the Wickedness of the People, and the carrying away of the Children should be made manifest. And they added, that this white Angel would place Himself sometimes at the Door betwixt the Witches and the Children; and when they came to Blockula, he pulled the Children back, but the Witches they went in.

3. Of the Michief or Evil which the Witches promised to do to Men and Beasts.

They confessed, that they were to promise the Devil, that they would do all that's Ill; and that the Devil taught them to Milk, which was in this wise: They used to stick a Knife in the Wall, and hang a kind of a Label on it, which they drew and stroaked; and as long as this lasted, the Persons that they had power over were miserably plagued, and the Beasts were milked that way, till sometimes they died of it.

A Woman confessed, that the Devil gave her a wooden Knife, wherewith, going into Houses, she had power to kill any thing, she touched with it; yet there were few, that would confess, that they had hurt any Man or

Woman.

Being asked whether they had murthered any Children, they confessed, that they had indeed tormented many, but did not know, whether any of them died of those Plagues. And added, That the Devil had shewed them several Places, where he had Power to do Mischief.

The Minister of Elfdale, declared, That one Night these Witches, were to his thinking, upon the crown of his Head, and that from thence he had had a long conti-

nued Pain of the Head.

One of the Witches confessed too, that the Devil had fent her to torment that Minister: and that she was ordered to use a Nail and strike it into his Head, but it would not enter very deep; and hence came that Headach.

The aforesaid Minister said also, That one Night he selt a Pain, as if he were torn with an Instrument, that they cleanse Flax with, or a Flax-comb; and when he waked, he heard somebody scratching and scraping, at the Window, but could see no-body. And one of the Witches confessed, that she was the Person that did it, being sent by the Devil.

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The Minister of Mohra declared also, that one Night one of these Witches came into his House, and did so violently take him by the Throat, that he thought, he should have been choaked; and waking, he saw the Person that did it, but could not know her; and that for some Weeks he was not able to speak, or perform Divine Service.

An old Woman of Elfdale confessed, that the Devil had holpen her to make a Nail, which she struck into a Boy's knee, of which Stroke the Boy remained lame a long time. And she added, that before she burnt, or was executed by the hand of Justice, the Boy would re-

cover.

They confessed also, that the Devil gives them a Beast about the bigness and shape of a young Cat, which they call a Carrier; and that he gives them a Bird too as big as a Raven, but white. And these two Creatures they can send any where; and where-ever they come, they take away all forts of Victuals they can get, Butter, Cheese, Milk, Bacon, and all forts of Seeds whatever they find, and carry it to the Witch. What the Bird brings they may keep for themselves; but what the Carrier brings, they must reserve for the Devil, and that's brought to Blockula, where he doth give them of it so much as he thinks sit.

They added likewise, that these Carriers fill themfelves so full sometimes, that they are forced to spue by the way, which spueing is sound in several Gardens where Colworts grow, and not far from the Houses of those Witches. It is of a yellow colour like Gold, and

is called Butter of Witches.

The Lords Commissioners were indeed very earnest, and took great Pains to perswade them to shew some of their Tricks, but to no purpose; for they did all unanimously confess, that since they had confessed all, they found that all their Witchcraft was gone, and that the Devil at this time appeared to them very terrible, with Claws on his Hands and Feet, and with Horns on his Head,

Head, and a long Tail behind, and shewed to them a Pit burning, with a Hand put out; but the Devil did thrust the Person down again with an Iron-sork; and suggested to the Witches, that if they continued in their Confession, he would deal with them in the same manner.

The abovefaid Relation is taken out of the Publick Register, where all this is related with more Circumstances. And at this time through all the Countrey there are Prayers weekly in all Churches, to the end that Almighty God would pull down the Devil's Power, and deliver those poor Creatures, which have hitherto groaned under it.

An Account of what happened to a Boy, at Malmoe in Schonen, in the Year 1678. Supposed to be done by Witchcraft, and attested by the ablest, and most judicious Men of that Town.

Having in the Preface to the foregoing Narrative taken notice of the Swedish Envoy Extraordinary, it may not be unfuitable to the Subject, these Papers treat of, to give the World an Account of a very strange Passage, which the said Envoy hath taken very great pains to fatisfie himself in; and of which he hath the publick Testimony of the Town, where it was done, No longer ago than in the Year 1678. an Alderman or Senator's Son of Malmoe in Schonen, a City belonging to the King of Sweden, the Boy being then about Thirteen Years of Age, his Name Abraham Mechelburg, going to School one Morning, as the Custom is in that place, about Six of the Clock, stay'd there till Eight, and then went home for his Breakfast, which when he had eaten, he was going back to School again, when just before the Door, close by the lowermost Step. there lav a little Bundle of Linnen Rags, which the Lad out of Curiofity took up and open'd, but found nothing

thing in it, but partly Pins, some crooked, some laid across, some without Points; partly broken Horse-nails, and Nails without Heads; partly Horse-hair, and such Trash, which, when it answered not his Expectation,

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Some few days after, the Boy fell ill, and continued fo for some time, no Physician being able to guess what ailed him. At last he began to void little Stones, at the Orifice of the Penis, which by degrees came forth bigger and bigger, some were perfect Pebbles of all sorts of Colours, and in process of time, there came forth great uneven Stones like pieces of Rocks, as if they were broken off of a greater Stone, whereof the Envoy hath two by him, One given him by the Father of the Boy, and the other by the King's Chirurgeon, both which I have thought sit to give the Reader the dimensions of.

Before the Stones came forth, there was a strange motion in his Belly, as if fomething were alive in it, the Stones feemed to crack within, and fomething they heard, as if a great Stone were violently broken, and at this time he felt the greatest pain When the Stones were ready to come forth, the Penis was drawn in fo deep, that the Standers by could not perceive any thing of it; and after that, it dropt those prodigious Stones, which feem rather to be fetch'd from Quarries, than produced by any Saline or Nitrous Matter in the Body. The Stone I have given the Figure of, is of a reddiff colour, with fome grains of white in it, heavy, and fuch as lie in common Roads and Highways. When the Stones came forth, the Boy felt no pain, the pain being most upon - him, when the Stones within feem'd to crack, and a little before; and the Fit was then fo violent, that four or five Men were forced to hold him. The Boy in the mean while slept well at Night, eat, and drank as heartily as ever, discomposed at no time, but when the Fit of voiding these Stones was coming upon him. This lasted two years: The Parents had the Boy pray'd for at Church, and instantly befought God

God at home, whenever any of those Fits came upon him, to turn the stream and to stop the Devils Power. The Boy is now as well as ever, rideth abroad, and doth all things as he used to do before this accident befel him. The Envoy spoke both with the Father and the Boy, and tells me, they are no indigent People, but well to pass, and Persons of very good Reputation in the Town of Malmoe. While this Misfortune lasted, the King of Sweden being then but a little way off, fent some of his Chirurgeons to the Place, to know the truth thereof, who were by, when the Lad voided very strange Stones at the Orifice of the Penis, and gave the King an account of it: One of them to be throughly satisfied, held his hand under the Penis after it was drawn in, and there dropt a very odd Stone, broad and angular into his hand. The Envoy being upon the place last Year, enquired of all People, whom he thought might not be very credulous, who unanimously bore witness of the thing; and upon his request gave him the following Account, which I have translated out of the Original.

A. H.

BE it known, that during the Years, 1678. and 1679.

a very wonderful thing happened in this City of Malmoe, to one of the Aldermen of the Town, his name John Mechelburg, and his Wife's Abla Kruthmeyer; for God having bleffed them with three Sons, one of them Abraham by name, a Boy at this time aged about sixteen years, bath been very strangely afflitted with a preternatural voiding of Stones, insomuch that during the space of those two years, he hath through the Virga of the Penis voided several hundreds of Stones great and Small, which being weighed together, weighed no less than one and Twenty Pound, Aver du poise, some weighing 6, some 7, some 8, some 9. Ounces, full of Angles, and much like pieces of a Rock that's broken by Force, or Instruments fit for that Purpose.

pose. These broken Stones sometimes came forth at the Boy's mouth, sometimes be voided them by Siege, and the Parents of the Child have confidently assured us, that before this Misfortune, the Boy had been fick several Weeks together, and kept his Bed; during which Sickness something was seen moving in his Body, as if it had been some live thing. After this Sickness there appeared the Stones aforesaid; The first that came forth exceeded not the bigness of half a Pea, but in a short time after they increased to a greater Bulk; when they were ready to come away, the Boy complained much of the Spine of his Back, where, as he faid, he found incredible Pain. While this lasted, he neither made Water, nor went to Stool sometimes in two Months, sometimes not in a Quarter of a Year; sometimes the Stones, when they were past through the Virga, appeared bloudy, and upon one of them there appeared a kind of Talch. Notwithstanding all this misery, the Boy continued to eat his Meat very heartily, nor was he troubled with this Pain at all in the night, but flept quietly as he used to do. About the latter end of this unexampled Paffion and Misery, a matter of 64. Stones, for the most part small, came forth very fast, one upon the neck of another, and since the 20th. of September, 1679. this Misfortune hath totally left him, and he is as well as ever, nor is there, after all those Torments, any Defect to be found, or perceived either in his Body, or the aforesaid Member of the Boy, but he continues Safe and sound unto this day.

And where is, in all probability, abundance of Men, because they have not been Eye witnesses, will deride these Passages, as fabulous, we, whose Names are under-written, upon the Request and Desire of the Lord John Leyonbergh, Envoy Extraordinary of Sweden, have once more spoken, and conferred with the Parents of the Boy, who have shewed us the above said Stones, and given us one of the biggest, as a Present, and do hereby testifie, that the Passages related in the Premisses, are undoubtedly true, which Testimony we have also signed with our own hands, that in case the aforesaid Envoy coming into foreign Parts, shall have occasion.

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to speak of these things, Men may give Credit to his Relation. Given at Malmoe, this 20th. of September, 1680.

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Christophorus Rostius, Med. D. & Prof.
Nicolaus Hambraus, Pastor & Præpositus Malmoy.
Wilhelmus Laurembergius, V. D. M. Malmoy.
Martinus Torstorrius, Comminister, ibid.
Sigismund Aschenborn, Consul Malmoy. Primar.
John Caspar Heublin. Consil. Malmoy.
Ephraim Koldewey, Chirurgeon to the Garison.

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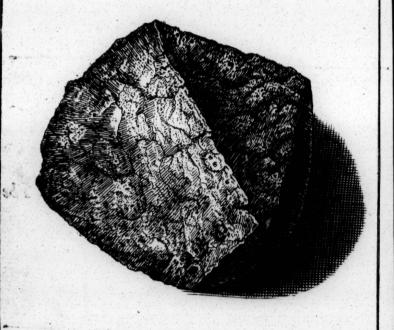
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The dimensions of the two Stones mentioned in these papers.

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#### Advertisement.

Hen the Boy's Father gave the Envoy the bigger Stone, he added this Testimonial or Certificate under his own hand:

IN the Year of our Lord, 1678. Novemb. 30. This Stone came away from my Son Abraham Mechelburg, through the Virga of the Penis, weighing three Ounces, and upward.

Malmoe, April 26. 1680.

#### John Mechelburg.

The Lesser Stone was given to the *Envoy*, by one of the King of *Sweden's* Chirurgeons, that held his hand to the Orifice of the *Penis*, and felt and saw it drop into his hand.

FINIS.

## Licensed to be Réprinted

[Saducismus Triumphatus: Or, Full and plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions.]

Jan. 14th 1685.

5

Rob. Midgley.

